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Statue of Zachariah Chandler

ERECTED IN STATUARY HALL OF
THE UNITED STATES CAPITOL
BY THE STATE OF MICHIGAN

PROCEEDINGS IN STATUARY HALL, IN
THE SENATE, AND THE HOUSE OF REP-
RESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES,
UPON THE UNVEILING, RECEPTION, AND
ACCEPTANCE OF THE STATUE OF
ZACHARIAH CHANDLER, FROM THE
STATE OF MICHIGAN

Compiled under the direction of the
Joint Committee on Printing



WASHINGTON
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
1914

SENATE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION 5, SIXTY-THIRD CONGRESS.

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That there be printed and bound, with illustrations, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, the proceedings in Congress, together with the proceedings at the unveiling in Statuary Hall, upon the acceptance of the statue of Zachariah Chandler, presented by the State of Michigan, sixteen thousand five hundred copies, of which five thousand shall be for the use of the Senate and ten thousand for the use of the House of Representatives, and the remaining one thousand five hundred copies shall be for the use and distribution of the Senators and Representatives in Congress from the State of Michigan.

Passed the Senate July 10, 1913.

Passed the House September 5, 1913.

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THE SCULPTOR

CHARLES HENRY NIEHAUS

Born in Cincinnati, Ohio, January 24, 1855. In early life followed wood engraving, stonecutting, and carving in marble. Studied art in the McMicken School of Design, Cincinnati, Ohio, and in the Royal Academy of Munich, receiving conspicuous awards in both institutions. Lived for some time in Rome. Is a member of the Council of the National Sculpture Society, of the Architectural League of America, the National Arts Club, the Players Club, and fellow of L'Associazione della Artistica Internazionale di Roma. Since 1885 he has resided in the city of New York. Among his works are statues of Hooper and Davenport, statehouse, Connecticut; Astor historical doors, Old Trinity, New York; carved-wood tympanums, Library of Congress; statues of Moses and Gibbon, Library of Congress; Hahnemann Memorial, Washington, D. C.; statues of Lincoln and Farragut, Muskegon, Mich.; statues of Garfield, Chandler, Allen, Morton, Ingalls, and Glick, Statuary Hall, United States Capitol; and a portrait bust of Daniel Tompkins, in the gallery of the United States Senate.

STATUE OF JAMES A. GARFIELD	Statuary Hall.
STATUE OF OLIVER P. MORTON	Statuary Hall.
STATUE OF JOHN J. INGALLS	Statuary Hall.
STATUE OF WILLIAM ALLEN	Statuary Hall.
STATUE OF ZACHARIAH CHANDLER	Statuary Hall.
STATUE OF GEORGE WASHINGTON GLICK	Statuary Hall.
PORTRAIT BUST OF DANIEL TOMPKINS	Senate gallery.

(Extract from Works of Art in the United States Capitol Building, S. Doc. No. 169, 63d Cong., 1st sess.)



UNVEILING OF
STATUE OF
ZACHARIAH CHANDLER

STATUARY HALL

JUNE 30, 1913

PROCEEDINGS IN STATUARY HALL

MONDAY, JUNE 30, 1913—11 A. M.

Senator WILLIAM ALDEN SMITH, of Michigan (chairman).
The service which we have met here to perform will be opened with prayer by the Rev. Henry N. Couden, D. D., of Port Huron, Mich., Chaplain of the House of Representatives, whose sightless eyes give eloquent testimony to his valor and patriotism.

OPENING PRAYER.

The Chaplain of the House of Representatives, Rev. Henry N. Couden, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Great God, our King and our Father, whose spirit pervades all space with rays divine, a very potent factor in shaping and guiding the progress of men and of nations through all the vicissitudes of the past, we rejoice that the long struggle for civil, political, and religious rights culminated in a Nation "conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal."

We thank Thee that from time to time Thou hast raised up patriots who have woven their characters into the tissues of this Nation and made it strong and great. We are here in the memory of such a man, fitted by nature and by preparation for the work Thou didst call him to do. He gave to his State and Nation the best that was in him, and left behind him a record worthy of emulation. In placing his statue here in this Hall of Fame the people of his State honor themselves and add to the group of illustrious heroes and statesmen here represented a son of whom they may well be proud. Long may it stand, to speak in mute eloquence of "liberty and union, one and inseparable, now and forever."

Let Thy blessing be upon these services, that they may be recorded upon the pages of history and redound to Thy glory and to the good of mankind. In the spirit of Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

ADDRESS OF SENATOR WILLIAM ALDEN SMITH.

My friends, as the senior in service of the Michigan congressional delegation, I have been directed to take charge of the program. My part shall be very brief, and in passing I desire to say that we have assembled in this historic place as the representatives of State and Nation to do honor to one whose public service contributed so much toward the welfare of the people and the glory of his country. It was peculiarly fitting that ZACHARIAH CHANDLER should have represented Michigan in the Senate of the United States at a time when rugged faith and sublime confidence were so essential to the permanence of the Republic.

His giantlike form, his innate honesty, his unclouded vision, his dauntless courage, and his masterful personality shone like a beacon light through the darkness and gloom of our Nation's greatest peril, while the warmth of his stout heart and his ever-present sympathy cheered the faltering, ministered to the needy, and cared for the suffering on unnumbered battle fields. To him the sadly bereft and afflicted turned with confidence, while the unconsolated mother who had dedicated her only son to Lincoln's cause knew that CHANDLER would not countenance unnecessary danger or sacrifice, and the Government of which he was a part was made more glorious by his unflinching devotion to human liberty. [Applause.]

To the soldier at Gettysburg or in the Wilderness his eloquent voice was like a bugle call to action, and inspired our soldiers and national leaders with new strength and faith in the perpetuity of American institutions.

He was no traitor to his country or his party. His optimism was of that quality which could circumvent any disaster. His was the highest type of virile, western statesmanship, and his iron will could not be broken or blunted,

while he wore upon his brow the cardinal jewels of his political faith.

He was a stranger to fear and a deadly foe to venality in every form. He was the generous product of mountain and valley and forest and sea, and his imperious form was unswayed by tempest and storm. The fiercer the growl of treason and disunion, the more dauntless his spirit and the more inspiring his leadership; the heavier the load, the more massive his form became, until the people of Michigan came to believe that there was no limit to his patriotism or endurance. When column after column broke, his Herculean shoulders steadied the structure of State until the foundations could be repaired.

His last battle was relentlessly waged against the puerile political decadence of his time, and the stalwart blows he delivered against the financial fallacies of that period quickened the lagging spirit of the faint-hearted and smote the visionary doctrinaire in a vital spot.

It was, indeed, a far-seeing eye that blazed the way for ZACHARIAH CHANDLER's entrance into the public life of his country, and the century that has passed since he was cradled in the mountains of the Old Granite State has produced no more inspiring figure among the conservators of the Republic.

In this niche Michigan places her final contribution to this brilliant galaxy of the dead, and future generations can find much of inspiration in the lives of all, while not the least of these now takes its place at the instance of the State he so faithfully served.

I count it among the priceless privileges of my life to have been permitted to come into personal contact with this masterful man, and this hour could not be devoted to a worthier purpose than the initial step in the permanent perpetuation of his memory.

I pause to call upon Chandler Hale, grandson of the great CHANDLER, to unveil his statue.

[The statue, which was draped in a large American flag, was then unveiled by Mr. Chandler Hale. The appearance of the statue was greeted with applause.]

In yonder Chamber, which was the immediate scene of his countless activities, we shall at some future time present some phases of his legislative career, and this present ceremony will now be conducted by those especially charged by the Commonwealth of Michigan to perform this patriotic duty.

I take especial pride in presenting to you Mr. Arthur H. Vandenberg, of Grand Rapids, Mich., the honored chairman of the commission, who exemplifies in his character and attainments the wholesome spirit of this occasion. [Applause.]

ADDRESS OF MR. ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG.

Mr. Chairman, ladies, and gentlemen, the Commonwealth of Michigan to-day challenges the attention of the Nation to the quality and fiber of Michigan manhood and citizenship as typified in one of the strongest characters illuminating the page of nineteenth century American history.

We have come from our beloved State to offer tribute to the memory of ZACHARIAH CHANDLER, and to ask the people of the United States to accept from us this heroic statue, which shall stand through unnumbered years as the testimonial of a people who are free and nationally unified because such democratic noblemen as he dedicated their surpassing talents to the common good.

It was wise national legislation which brought this Statuary Hall into existence—here in a Capitol Building that breathes liberty in every stone and column—to perpetuate the memory of crusaders for humanity and good government.

In an all-too-forgetful age it is well that such patriotic shrines should reinspire the thoughts of generations which profit from the self-sacrificing labors of the fathers who toiled and builded and kept the faith that we might inherit our legacy unimpaired.

It was equally wise legislation—in the State—which two years ago nominated ZACHARIAH CHANDLER to occupy Michigan's second niche in the Nation's Hall of Fame, because neither Michigan nor any other Commonwealth ever gave a statesman to the Nation who wrought in more imperishable deed for the preservation and the glory of his country.

In a time that tried men's souls—through rebellion and then through reconstruction—his intrepid courage was an inspiration for right and justice, his words resembled battles, and his countless achievements spelled service that counted large for the cause which martyred the saintly Lincoln and immortalized the resistless Grant.

I speak for the State commission which was intrusted with responsibility for the erection of this statue. Our task is done. We believe that Sculptor Charles H. Niehaus has faithfully portrayed the rugged greatness of a master among men.

We publicly acknowledge our debt of gratitude to all who have aided us in whatever measure of success our efforts have attained and, as chairman of the commission, I want particularly to pay my personal word of appreciation for the debt that I owe to my fellow members on the commission, Mr. Charles M. Greenway and Mr. Kirke S. Alexander.

I wish, too, to say a word for Sculptor Niehaus, who has continuously given us the benefit of his ceaseless efforts and untiring interest. And last, but not least, I must say to you that we are under everlasting obligation to Mrs. Mary Chandler Hale, the daughter of this great man, who has exhibited a continuous interest in our work, who has given us the benefit of inspiring suggestion, and who is kept from attendance upon this memorable occasion only by the serious illness of her own distinguished husband.

We believe that the statue will merit approval from Michigan and the Nation; and, pursuant to instructions from the commission, I make bold to sketch in briefest way the thoughts regarding CHANDLER which have inspired us in our task.

Michigan particularly extends greetings upon this memorable occasion to one of her elders in the sisterhood of States; for while CHANDLER'S mature accomplishments were all inspired by the splendid glory of his western citizenship, his birthplace was amid the granite hills of old New Hampshire.

The Commonwealth which from early youth became the home of his loyal adoption is entitled to this honor of preserving CHANDLER'S fame in this marble that will endure with all the ages through which the Republic is destined to live on.

But the State which gave him birth at Bedford on December 10, 1813—one full century ago—may borrow a reflection of our pride.

New Hampshire is ostensibly represented in this Hall of Fame by two heroic figures into whose eternal association a third now comes.

Over yonder stands John Stark, a warrior patriot whose honors are written from Bunker Hill to Bennington in chapters of a life story dedicated to the establishment of this free and independent Government.

Near by is the mighty, masterful Daniel Webster, who first stripped the doctrine of nullification to a nakedness that shamed it before the world; Webster, who lived to save the integrity of union even as Stark lived to serve in its erection.

Yet, with full and appreciative acknowledgment of the self-sacrifice and patriotism of both these Titan figures, we of the West respectfully submit that when New Hampshire gave ZACHARIAH CHANDLER to Michigan—there to be matured into dynamic manhood—New Hampshire sired a son who combined the uncompromising courage of a Stark and the sublime Union loyalty of a Webster—a son who wrought in word and deed for the preservation of free government in as exalted and effective degree as any single patriot who ever swore allegiance to the Constitution of the United States. [Applause.]

If by some black art Gabriel's horn could sound an alarm of resurrection that should galvanize this bronze and marble congress into life, we should find ourselves in the intimate presence of many of the Nation's great—men whose lives chapter and vitalize the story of American development. It would be a wonderful assembly—such a parliament as never met in flesh and never will.

But among all these earnest, intellectual, stalwart, aggressive, patriotic, broad-brained men and women we are proud in our faith that there would be no peer to Lewis Cass and ZACHARIAH CHANDLER, sons of Michigan, servitors of the Republic, representatives of that sterling citizenship which

has electrified the great Northwest with currents of progress and patriotism—deserved favorites in history. None of better right to win perpetuated fame and endured affection in this inspired rotunda.

After Cass had honored Michigan through a lifetime of devoted service to the public weal, Michigan honored Cass in 1889 by accepting the Nation's invitation to here dedicate a shaft to his hallowed memory; and for nearly one-quarter of a century visitors to this most beautiful and most powerful Capitol in all the world have looked upon his rugged face and stalwart figure to catch from them a suggestion of that power and purpose which made him strong—aye, superb—as governor, ambassador, Senator, Cabinet counselor, and contender for the Presidency.

It is fitting now that Michigan's second contribution to this gallery of immortals should commemorate the one who took up the burden of leadership when Cass laid it down, who became the spokesman for his State and for his party fully as dominantly as Cass had been in much less perilous times, who donned the armor of a fearless crusader against slavery and secession, and who, among all his stalwart fellow statesmen, veritably became the plumed knight of free union to captain the brave-hearted band of heroes who upheld the hands of Lincoln in a Congress that was rebellion's lair.

Those bitter days are over, and what may be said to-day is said with fullest honor and appreciation for those whose consciences aligned them on the other side. Fields that ran red with blood in the chill of cold November are green with the harvest of July. Unity that was once merely constitutional has given way to unity that is both constitutional and loved. North and South each honor the other's Rebellion heroes. There is no statue in this Hall upon whose granite pedestal I would more gladly place a wreath of esteem and affection than that of the great Robert E. Lee. [Applause.] What we say of the record of this man to whom this day is dedicated is merely the unchangeable story of history which must be told as it

occurred. And it is from the picture of fearlessness and courage and uncompromising conviction which the story yields that one may catch the reason why this particular favorite son has earned Michigan's belated favor at this hour.

Michigan's history is rich in men well worthy of honor in this Hall of Fame. Michigan wishes she might rear to all a memorial worthy of the nobility of each. But since one alone must be selected for the recognition of this hour, there can be little division of far-seeing opinion that ZACHARIAH CHANDLER is rightfully the colossus to whom belongs premier appreciation.

Among all the statues in this Hall I believe I am correct in saying that only one commemorates any of CHANDLER'S confrères when he first entered national life in the Senate of the United States on March 4, 1857, and in the chamber now occupied by the Supreme Court took oath to support the Constitution of the Union—an oath as dear to him as life itself. That great Congress, which entered upon responsibilities surpassing almost any ever undertaken by parliament of man before or since, has been solely represented here by Samuel Houston, from the State of Texas—Houston, who made Texas free and then brought her into the Republic.

If Samuel Houston could speak this morning from his splendid pedestal over yonder, he would subscribe to every word of eulogy that may be said for ZACHARIAH CHANDLER, and out of richly wonderful experiences in a Congress where CHANDLER never yielded jot or tittle to secessionist or traitor he would congratulate Michigan and the United States upon the glory of this hour. [Applause.]

Probably no man other than Lincoln himself was more steadfast, unyielding, grimly courageous, and unhesitatingly defiant in his opposition to slavery and secession. What this Nation owes to Lincoln for his leadership, partaking of divinity, during the dark days of the sixties, it owes in proportionate measure to CHANDLER for his lesser but terribly potential work.

CHANDLER it was who early practiced the tenets of his faith in abolition through liberal support of "the underground railroad," of which Detroit was one of the most important terminals.

CHANDLER it was who led the party of antislavery as its nominee for governor of Michigan in its first great fight for recognition.

CHANDLER it was who headed the Michigan delegation to the first Republican national convention, where as a delegate he was one of the five who first voted for Lincoln as a vice presidential candidate.

CHANDLER it was who went to the United States Senate as the successor of Cass when Michigan demanded that her representative at Washington should reflect our sturdy faith in the perpetuity of the Union.

CHANDLER it was who immediately became the chieftain in the historic preliminary legislative battles which preceded the Civil War itself.

He knew from first to last no faltering, no doubt, no fear, and could never bring himself to look with patience upon any proposal for compromise.

CHANDLER it was who voiced the indignation of the patriotic North against the immortally notorious Leecompton constitution for Kansas.

It fixed Mr. CHANDLER'S position definitely, not only as it demonstrated his ability, but as it raised him in the far advance of radicalism in the Senate, a position which he never deserted and for which he never apologized.

When Buchanan, with monstrous temerity, was ready to permit South Carolina to secede it was CHANDLER who arose to the emergency, "and men instinctively stood aside to give place to the national leader whom the occasion had raised up."

With a vigor and steadfastness for which this Nation must be forever his debtor, CHANDLER fought treason and its promoters at every turn of the road. He opposed the Crittenden compromise and condemned every suggestion that peace be purchased by dishonor. It remained for him to echo the Lincoln axiom in his famous letter of February 11, 1861,

when, decrying the hesitancy of business men to face the possibility of war, CHANDLER wrote:

Without a little bloodletting this Union will not, in my estimation, be worth a rush.

When Sumter fell it was CHANDLER who came back to Michigan and vitalized the presidential call for troops. Read this from authentic history:

Every Michigan soldier knew old "ZACH" by name, thousands knew his face, and hundreds have him to thank for acts of kindness and words of cheer. The dustiest, ragged bluecoat applicant for his aid had a claim to royal precedence, and they all knew that if they needed influence or money they had but to ask him. Not the iron rule of Stanton himself could avail to delay him in such a service.

CHANDLER was the guiding spirit of the famous Committee on the Conduct of the War, which throughout the terrific conflict was the inspiration and invaluable support of the President and his Secretary of War.

It would take a volume of endless size to tell the whole story. Every act of CHANDLER was an act of a staunch and courageous patriot. No taint of dishonesty, no suggestion of dishonor, no intimation of selfish or improper motives ever attached to his slightest act.

He was the confidant of Lincoln and became the confidant of Grant.

He was Grant's Secretary of the Interior, where his administration is spoken of as "the best in its history."

I hold in my hand a letter from former President of the United States William H. Taft, whose honored father served in the cabinet of Grant with ZACHARIAH CHANDLER, which letter is as follows:

NEW HAVEN, CONN., June 14, 1913.

MR. A. H. VANDENBERG,

The Grand Rapids Herald, Grand Rapids, Mich.

MY DEAR MR. VANDENBERG: I have yours of June 10 with reference to the dedication of a statue to Mr. ZACHARIAH CHANDLER. I am not very familiar with Mr. CHANDLER's life. My father valued his sturdy patriotism, the wonderful force of his personality, and his bluff directness and honesty of expression. He believed the country greatly indebted to him for his patriotic activities at a time when she was in great need.

Sincerely, yours,

WM. H. TAFT.

CHANDLER was chairman of the Republican national committee through the historic campaign which gave Hayes the Presidency, and in this trying position he displayed that executive capacity and relentless aggressiveness which contributed so fundamentally to his dominance wherever he was concerned. He seemed the very incarnation of resistless, persevering power.

Had he been spared his sudden death he would probably have succeeded Hayes as President of the United States. He was of presidential caliber and vision and popularity.

As a merchant, before entering public life, he exhibited a genius that brought him fortune.

As a statesman, after he left the ways of commerce far behind, he was a master.

As a staunch Republican, he was unfaltering in his devotion to his party's cause, a devotion so sincere that it earned him the respect of enemy and friend alike.

And last, but far from least, as a husband and a father, he was as kindly and considerate and thoughtful and good as man ever was or could be.

When this great Michigan giant suddenly passed into another life, during the night of November 1, 1879, there was national recognition of a national loss. Proof, suggestive of the place he held in universal esteem, shows in the following phrase borrowed from the comment of that time:

It may be doubted whether since the assassination of Abraham Lincoln any single announcement has so startled the public mind and moved the popular heart as when it was announced that ZACHARIAH CHANDLER was found sleeping his last sleep.

A Nation as well as the State of Michigan—

Wrote Gen. Grant—

mourns the loss of one of her most brave, patriotic, and truest citizens. Senator CHANDLER was beloved by his associates and respected by those who disagreed with his political views. The more closely I became connected with him the more I appreciated his great merits.

The tributes to his virtuous, vigorous valor were legion. The peoples of Commonwealths from near and far came to mourn before his ashes. Garlands of love and appreciation

piled high his bier. Eulogy was universal. A chieftain worthy the truest traditions of the race had crossed the bar.

Dr. Pierson spoke from the pulpit of CHANDLER'S church in Detroit, the city which this great man had honorably served as chief executive when he first dedicated his masterful talents and intrepid courage to the common good.

The Doric pillar of Michigan has fallen—

Said he—

but the State stands, and God can set another pillar in its place. There is stone in the quarry, columns are taking shape * * * and in God's time they shall be raised to their place.

To-day, Mr. Chairman, the Doric pillar of Michigan is raised again in image.

After two years of faithful labor on the part of the commission of which I am proud to be a member the column has taken suggestive shape, and, true to prophecy, it has been raised where it belongs—here in the Nation's Hall of Fame.

May it not only breathe some small measure of Michigan's appreciation for one who honored her as few sons have honored Commonwealth, but may it also inspire to-morrow's citizenship to strive honorably, fearlessly, and in self-sacrifice that the Republic may always be preserved.

To you, sir, Mr. Governor, as the representative of Michigan's near 3,000,000 souls, I have the honor, on behalf of the commission, to tender you this shaft to the memory of ZACHARIAH CHANDLER—this heroic statue which, by legislative authority, Michigan desires you to present to the people of the United States. [Applause.]

Senator SMITH of Michigan. I now take great pleasure in presenting the lieutenant governor of Michigan, Hon. John Q. Ross, who receives this statue from the commission, and in turn will present it to an official of the Government of the United States.

ADDRESS OF LIEUT. GOV. JOHN Q. ROSS, OF MICHIGAN

Mr. Chairman, in this room, made sacred by so many important actions affecting the General Government, it is but fitting that we should gather for the purpose of paying our respects to one of the mighty men who was a vitalizing force in making this country what it is to-day.

I want first, on behalf of the people of the State of Michigan, to thank this commission, whose earnest efforts have made the success of this occasion possible. In every undertaking, such as the erection of this statue, it is necessary to find men who are willing to give of their time and talents that the desired object may be accomplished in such a way as to meet the intent and desires of the people as a whole. I feel that it is but just that I should say here that the people of Michigan realize that no better selections could have been made as members of the commission in charge of this work. This statue will always stand as a testimonial to their faithful discharge of the duties imposed upon them.

The effect of events such as this is impossible for us to estimate. As we are here to-day enjoying the blessings of this free Government, we are prone to overlook the things which have made this occasion possible. It is so easy for us to forget the men whose high ideals and whose devotion to duty have aided in the upbuilding and preservation of this Government. In the mad rush for place and power and competence which our people are making, the one thing which we need more than anything else is such object lessons as this statue as constant reminders that our happiness and our every opportunity are interwoven with the efforts and accomplishments of the men who have lived before.

It is an inspiration to live in such a country; but it is more inspiring to live in this country because of such men as ZACHARIAH CHANDLER. The reading of his history spells opportunity to every young man.

The chairman of the commission has so eloquently pictured Senator CHANDLER's success that I hesitate to say anything in addition to what he has already said, although I feel I would be remiss in my duty if I did not again call attention to the fact that Senator CHANDLER overcame every handicap with which his early life was surrounded. He started in life with what would be considered at this time a very meager education; the money furnished to him by his father at the time he located in Michigan would not now be regarded as sufficient in amount to be of very substantial advantage in securing a start in business life. But he had something better than a college education; he had something better than a large sum of money—he had implanted within him that spirit which caused him to choose the right with invincible resolution, to resist the sorest temptations from within and without, to face the greatest storms of his business and political activities with that calm and fearless determination which could mean nothing but success. Some have urged that he lived in an age of opportunity; that his location in Michigan was at a peculiarly opportune time, and for that reason he should not be given full credit for all of the things his life and accomplishments stand for. That would not be a fair measure of the man and would lose sight of the fact that so many other men lived amidst similar surroundings, lured by the same beckonings by the goddess of fate, yet their lives meant nothing to the State or to the Nation at large. I am reminded of the words of John B. Gough, when he said that—

If you want to succeed in the world, you must make your own opportunities as you go on. A man who waits for some seventh wave to toss him on dry land will find that the seventh wave is a long time in coming. You can commit no greater folly than to sit by the roadside until some one comes along and invites you to ride with him to wealth and influence.

It was not opportunity that made him a success; it was that continual preparedness and fixity of purpose which took advantage of the opportunities that other men allowed to go by.

He applied business principles to every question that came up. His good sense, clear views, ready and retentive memory, quick discernment, and instinctive perception of the fitness of ways to ends qualified him for energetic and successful effort anywhere. These things recommended him to the people of his home city, and they chose him for their chief executive. His administration of that office more than demonstrated the wisdom of their choice. His fair dealing with his customers scattered over the State of Michigan made a host of sincere and admiring friends. He was one of the dominant spirits in the organization of the Republican Party, and when the opportunity came for the people of Michigan to select a United States Senator who would be in thorough sympathy with and should faithfully represent their determined opposition to any further compromise in the matter of the question of slavery, which then hung like a cloud of doubt and disaster over this country, their minds naturally turned to Mr. CHANDLER, in whom they had implicit confidence, because he had stood foursquare to every question which had come up. They recognized in him a strong and determined man. The very stumblingblocks which had caused others to falter and turn back had been for him stepping-stones in the pathway of success.

When he arrived at Washington as one of the Senators from our State he found the men of his own faith trembling for the future, ready and anxious to offer any compromise to avert further trouble or possible bloodshed. He was one of the men upon whom opposition acted as a tonic; who upon hearing of a threat rose refreshed and ready for the conflict. The opposition had intimidated by their attitude and their threats, and it awaited his advent upon the scene of action for the intrepid spirits of the Senate to get together and meet the opposition upon its own ground. His very determination and uncompromising attitude roused bitter antagonisms and caused to fall upon his head the most scathing denunciation, but to him this only meant more vigorous efforts. The intensity of his conviction, his tireless energy

of action, inspired confidence, gave courage to the hesitating, and caused the timid and irresolute to stand erect. No one can measure the importance of his service in the preparation for and during that mighty conflict which we designate in history as the Civil War. The success or failure of the Union cause and what it stood for on many occasions hung by so slender a thread that the taking away of the strength and the determination of his support might have meant disaster.

His experience and training enabled him to obtain a broad view of the questions of government which he was called upon to consider; he could see and appreciate, as few were able to do, all of the phases of the matter under discussion.

After the war was over, and during the reconstruction period, he was one of the men whose counsel was most often sought. It is true that his idea as to the treatment of the men who had been in open rebellion against the Government was more drastic, possibly, than that employed; but this attitude grew out of his firm belief in the righteousness of the Union cause and the unrighteousness of the Confederate contention. The very intensity of his belief and of his devotion made him all the more determined in his opposition to the extension of any leniency toward those who had been the leaders in the Confederacy. Nothing in his whole life aroused so much criticism as this, and yet, viewed from this lapse of time, we must admit that this very attitude on his part and on the part of some of his confrères resulted in the course being taken which has proven to be most advantageous for all. His opposition was not toward any individual or because of any individual, but was against the principle which those individuals had represented. He believed in a Union of the States which should for all time keep the Stars and Stripes floating unsullied in every hamlet and where no man should be held in involuntary servitude. The success of the principle he stood for is the glory of the Republic.

As a business man his success is measured by the good name he left as much as by the fortune he accumulated; as

a statesman the appreciation of his accomplishments will increase with passing years; as an administrator he had the faculty of directing the efforts of those under him to do that which was necessary, shorn of any cumbersome detail; as the leader of a great party he marshaled its hosts against united opposition and led them to the summit of victory; as an orator he never tried to get or hold the attention of his auditors by a mere play of words, but compelled their understanding by the force of his logic. He had the power to destroy the most eloquent and seductive sophistry by a few terse sentences.

It was given to him to read the future as it is given to few men. In his business he planned for the future of Michigan, and could see it grow and develop as the subsequent years have seen it grow and develop. In his contemplation of the affairs of the Nation he appreciated as fully as was given to anyone to appreciate what the differences between the North and the South meant to the Nation and to the future. He realized that while there might have been a time when these differences could have been settled without an open conflict, the vacillating attempts at compromise with a system which was inherently wrong had, before his entrance into national affairs, developed a situation which could only be adjusted by open conflict; that the sooner the conflict came the better it would be for the Nation at large, and the more easy it would be to settle it in the manner in which it was settled and which is now admitted was the best for all. He believed in more vigorous methods than were adopted. He insisted that the President should call 500,000 troops instead of 75,000. His counsel was never for anything except the most aggressive action in the prosecution of the war. His very nature was against any half-way measure. His faith was not a shrinking, half-believing faith; he believed with all the vigor and firmness of a perfect physical manhood. When his reason led him to a conclusion in his mind, that alone was right—that was the thing

to work for and to fight for. Others might contend against his position, but his resolution was unchangeable.

It is impossible for me in the short space of time I shall occupy to enter into any detailed discussion of the wonderful personality or work of Senator CHANDLER. His was a life so filled with effort and accomplishment that we need to study it carefully in order to appreciate its real meaning.

No words of mine can adequately portray the significance of this statue; it means that the efforts of the men who came over to this shore to found a government of free men might have been wasted had it not been for the determination of character of Senator CHANDLER; it means that the flame of bitter antagonism of the early sixties, had it not been for his zeal, might have become national instead of sectional, and still be burning, separated by the Mason and Dixon line; it means that this reconstructed Government is better because of his having lived, that his standing for a sound financial policy made a more stable system of currency than we would otherwise have had; it means that the administration of the several departments of the Government are upon a more businesslike basis, that the Government is receiving a more adequate return in service from its employees, because as Secretary of the Interior he put into active practice in that department the same thorough, conscientious business methods which had made his own business ventures so signally successful; it means that in this great and reunited country, because of his life and achievements, every boy can more fully realize that he only needs a firm determination and a conscientious and constant application to write upon the scroll of his achievement, in living letters of brightest hue, that word for which we all strive, success; it means that the people of a great State are not forgetful of their obligations to those who, by their accomplishments and fidelity, have shed a luster upon them, and whose energy and ability and never-yielding patriotism have contributed in so large a degree to their success and

material well-being. On behalf of that State, and with a thorough appreciation of all that this occasion means, and a firm belief that this Nation shall always continue to be the world's brightest hope for liberty and equality, I have the honor of presenting this statue to the people of the United States, that they may share with Michigan its glory and satisfaction in the life and achievements of ZACHARIAH CHANDLER. [Applause.]

LETTER FROM FORMER JUSTICE H. B. BROWN, OF THE
UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT

Senator SMITH of Michigan. It had been expected that Hon. Henry B. Brown, retired justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, would receive this statue in behalf of the Federal Government. Justice Brown has written a letter of singular beauty and appropriateness regarding the life of Senator CHANDLER. That letter is as follows:

WATKINS GLEN, N. Y., *June 15, 1913.*

MY DEAR SENATOR. I am informed by Mr. Vandenberg, of Grand Rapids, that I am indebted to you for a most courteous invitation to participate in the ceremonies attending the placing of a statue of the late Senator CHANDLER in Statuary Hall on the 30th of this month. It is with much more than ordinary regret that I am compelled by my physical condition to decline an honor which would have been, of all things, the most agreeable to accept. The truth is, I am sadly out of health and am instructed to remain here until the 1st of August, and can not leave even for a temporary engagement without serious risk.

My inability to attend involves a personal sorrow in that it deprives me of the only opportunity I shall probably ever have of paying a public tribute of affection and respect to the memory of one who, at a critical period of my life, rendered me a service which it would be the basest ingratitude to forget. It was not only the most important one ever rendered to me, but was one which changed the whole course of my life, and became the stepping-stone to all I subsequently attained. It was performed, too, at a time when he was not a Member of the Senate, but an ordinary private citizen, and was itself a proof of the strong personal influence he held, independent of any official connection with the Government.

It can never be forgotten of Senator CHANDLER that while his political methods were sometimes criticized even by members of his own party, he was one of half a dozen men who saved this Union in the most perilous hour of its existence. Like most men of strong character, he was an ardent supporter of whatever he undertook to do, and knew no such thing as a feeble determination or a half-hearted support. He was masterful in his nature and a born leader of men. When the great work of his life had been finished and the Union restored, he was as wise in the steps taken by him to cement that restoration and preserve the national faith untarnished as he had been to suppress open opposition in the field. He was opposed to all forms of repudiation, and insisted upon the preservation of the national faith. He was steadfast with those who stood by us and relentless to those who opposed us. He was born for the age in which he lived, and passed away when the real work of his life had been accomplished.

Very truly, yours,

H. B. BROWN,

Ex-Justice Supreme Court United States.

Senator SMITH of Michigan. In the absence of Mr. Justice Brown and at the unanimous request of the commission having this ceremony in charge, the statue will be accepted by Hon. JACOB H. GALLINGER, of New Hampshire, the ranking Republican Senator and the ranking legislator in both branches of Congress, a rugged, stalwart figure from the State where CHANDLER was born. [Applause.]

ADDRESS OF SENATOR JACOB H. GALLINGER, OF NEW
HAMPSHIRE

Mr. Chairman and Lieut. Gov. Ross, I esteem it a special privilege to be permitted to participate in the exercises of this day, and in behalf of the Government of the United States to accept from your great State the statue of the illustrious man whom Michigan so rightly and justly honors—ZACHARIAH CHANDLER.

New Hampshire, the State that I in part represent in the Senate, gave to other States of the Union a galaxy of men scarcely equaled in the history of our country. That little State gave Daniel Webster and Henry Wilson to Massachusetts, Salmon P. Chase to Ohio, Horace Greeley, Charles A. Dana, and John A. Dix to New York, William Pitt Fessenden to Maine, James W. Grimes to Iowa, and Lewis Cass and ZACHARIAH CHANDLER to Michigan. The statue of Lewis Cass, contributed to the Government by Michigan, stands conspicuously in this Hall, a place dedicated to great men, and now the effigy of ZACHARIAH CHANDLER is appropriately to become Michigan's second contribution to this collection of the chosen representatives of the several States of the Union.

The real name of Mr. CHANDLER was ZACHARIAS, which was afterwards changed to ZACHARIAH, but during his entire life he was known familiarly as "ZACH." In his later years, when his friends wished to speak affectionately of him, the designation applied to him was usually "OLD ZACH," which he seemed to look upon as a term of endearment.

New Hampshire, equally with Michigan, honors the memory of ZACHARIAH CHANDLER. The little town of Bedford, where he first saw the light of day on December 10, 1813, is not unmindful of his achievements after he left the ancestral home in search of fame and fortune in what was then a western State, and the people of New Hampshire as a whole feel

a justifiable pride in the great services he rendered the country at a time when patriotism was sorely needed and a high type of both physical and moral courage was essential in dealing with the problems of that day. So, New Hampshire on this occasion grasps the hand of Michigan in joint recognition of the virtues and abilities of a true American statesman—a man of rare powers of intellect, whose life was devoted to the advocacy of the principles and policies upon which our Government was founded, and the perpetuity of which are essential to its future success.

The life of ZACHARIAH CHANDLER is a peculiarly interesting and instructive one. Born on a farm, educated in the little brick schoolhouse of his native town, which I believe still stands, and in the village academies of Pembroke and Derry, without the advantages that a liberal education gives, he took up the work of life resolutely and hopefully. After leaving school he engaged in farm work. He next taught school a short time, and then entered a dry goods store as clerk in the city of Nashua, near his birthplace. At the age of 20 the eyes of the young man were turned westward, as the eyes of so many young men in the East were in those days, and he emigrated to Detroit, where he continued to reside until his death in the year 1879, in his sixty-sixth year. He carried with him to the West the intellectual ability and strength of character that he inherited from his Scotch-Irish ancestors. He carried with him also the physical vigor that the ozone of the New Hampshire hills implants in the human body, and with this equipment, aided by the stimulating influences of western push and energy, it is no wonder that his career in life was a remarkable one.

Shortly after reaching Detroit he engaged in business, in which he made a great success. In 1851 he was elected mayor of Detroit, and in 1852 was nominated as the Whig candidate for governor and was defeated. He was prominent in the organization of the Republican Party in 1854. He served for a time as chairman of the Republican national committee, and was Secretary of the Interior under President Grant.

In addition to these honors he was four times elected to the United States Senate, his services in that body, which were of a most distinguished kind, covering a period of 19 years. He died a Senator.

On the occasion of his death expressions of sympathy and appreciation came from all quarters. His funeral was a notable affair, attended by the militia, by hundreds of men in professional and public life from all parts of the country, and by a vast concourse of his sorrowing fellow citizens. The Nation mourned the loss of a truly great man. The late James G. Blaine, in writing of his burial, said:

Thus was ZACHARIAH CHANDLER buried. Living, he was honored. Dead, he was mourned. Though dead, his labors and his example remain, and they form his fittest monument.

What greater tribute could be paid to any man than that? The country boy, born in the East, had achieved fame and power in a new field, and he died honored and mourned by all his countrymen. This statue can add nothing to his fame. It will stand here to be gazed on by his countrymen and by pilgrims from all lands, who will recognize in its strong and expressive features the likeness of a man whose intellectual powers, force of character, and integrity of life won for him universal respect and imperishable renown.

On behalf of the Government I accept the statue and beg to thank Michigan for this notable contribution to the National Hall of Fame. [Applause.]

Senator SMITH of Michigan. It would be a very easy matter in a gathering like this, composed of many soldiers and many citizens who knew Senator CHANDLER personally, to produce a symposium of eulogy almost without limit. I see before me many of his contemporaries; but time will not permit, and the completeness of this service does not demand that we prolong it further.

I am going to ask Dr. Couden, himself a soldier, who last saw the flag of his country upon the field of battle 50 years ago, to close the ceremony which he so appropriately opened with prayer.

CONCLUDING PRAYER

Rev. Dr. Couden offered the following prayer:

And now, O God our heavenly Father, who hast watched over us in the past, and led us on step by step to larger and nobler life as individuals and as a people, let the spirit of Thy Son Jesus Christ come and dwell in our hearts, that we may go forth doing the work that Thou hast called us to do, honoring Thee, honoring our fellow men, and making for ourselves worthy characters that may reflect Thy glory, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

ACCEPTANCE OF
STATUE OF
ZACHARIAH CHANDLER

SENATE

JULY 2, 1913

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

APRIL 19, 1914

PROCEEDINGS IN THE SENATE

SATURDAY, JUNE 21, 1913

Mr. Townsend (for Mr. Smith of Michigan) submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 119), which was read and referred to the Committee on the Library:

Resolved, That exercises appropriate to the reception and acceptance from the State of Michigan of the statue of ZACHARIAH CHANDLER, erected in Statuary Hall in the Capitol, be made the special order for Monday, July 28, 1913, after the conclusion of the routine morning business.

THURSDAY, JUNE 26, 1913

Mr. Gallinger (for Mr. Smith of Michigan) submitted the following concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 4), which was ordered to lie on the table and be printed:

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That the statue of ZACHARIAH CHANDLER, presented by the State of Michigan to be placed in Statuary Hall, is accepted in the name of the United States, and that the thanks of Congress be tendered to the State for the contribution of the statue of one of its most eminent citizens, illustrious for the purity of his life and his distinguished services to the State and Nation.

Second. That a copy of these resolutions, suitably engrossed and duly authenticated, be transmitted to the governor of the State of Michigan.

Mr. Gallinger (for Mr. Smith of Michigan) submitted the following concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 5), which was ordered to lie on the table and be printed:

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That there be printed and bound, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, the proceedings in Congress, together with the proceedings at the unveiling in Statuary Hall, upon the acceptance of the statue of ZACHARIAH CHANDLER, presented by the State of Michigan, 16,500 copies, of which 5,000 shall be for the use of the Senate and 10,000 for the use of the House of Representatives, and the remaining 1,500 copies shall be for the use and distribution of the Senators and Representatives in Congress from the State of Michigan.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 2, 1913

The Vice President laid before the Senate a communication from the lieutenant governor of the State of Michigan, presenting to the Government and the people of the United States on behalf of the Michigan Legislature a marble statue of the late ZACHARIAH CHANDLER, of that State, which was referred to the Committee on the Library.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I ask that the communication be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the communication was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

STATE OF MICHIGAN.

To the SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Washington, D. C.

Pursuant to action of the Legislature of the State of Michigan, there has been erected in the Capitol of the United States a marble statue of the late ZACHARIAH CHANDLER, of Michigan. On behalf of the people of this State I have the honor and pleasure of presenting to the Government and people of the United States this statue of one whose ability, strength of character, and achievement, both in State and national affairs, entitled him not only to a place as one of Michigan's favorite sons, but also to a place as one of the Nation's great statesmen. Senator CHANDLER came to Michigan while still a young man. Entering into the business life of Michigan's chief city, he acquired a competence and then gave his time and ability to public affairs. He had not the opportunity for a finished literary education, but from his broad business experience he garnered a knowledge more thorough than any college course could have furnished. He was a man of firm convictions and unchanging devotion to public duty. Every student of history will recognize in Senator CHANDLER one of the great men of the period in which he lived. He was a tower of strength to every cause he espoused, and his grim determination and thorough preparedness made him the center of any conflict in which he took part. He neither asked nor gave quarter.

Such rugged and uncompromising characters are necessary in every great crisis, and Michigan presents this statue that future generations may know that in this, as in every age, true greatness is measured by patriotic and unselfish devotion to duty.

Very respectfully,

JOHN Q. ROSS,

Lieutenant Governor of Michigan.

Dated MUSKEGON, MICH., June 17, 1913.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Mr. President, out of order, if I may prefer the request, I would ask unanimous consent to consider Senate concurrent resolution No. 4, now on the table.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from Michigan asks unanimous consent out of order to consider a concurrent resolution which will be read.

The Secretary read Senate concurrent resolution No. 4, submitted by Mr. Gallinger for Mr. Smith of Michigan, June 26, 1913, as follows:

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That the statue of ZACHARIAH CHANDLER, presented by the State of Michigan to be placed in Statuary Hall, is accepted in the name of the United States, and that the thanks of Congress be tendered to the State for the contribution of the statue of one of its most eminent citizens, illustrious for the purity of his life and his distinguished services to the State and Nation.

Second. That a copy of these resolutions, suitably engrossed and duly authenticated, be transmitted to the governor of the State of Michigan.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the concurrent resolution.

The concurrent resolution was agreed to.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I ask unanimous consent to take from the table Senate concurrent resolution No. 5.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from Michigan asks for the immediate consideration of Senate concurrent resolution No. 5, which the Secretary will read.

The Secretary read Senate concurrent resolution No. 5, submitted by Mr. Gallinger for Mr. Smith of Michigan June 26, 1913, as follows:

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That there be printed and bound, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, the proceedings in Congress, together with the proceedings at the unveiling in Statuary Hall, upon the acceptance of the statue of ZACHARIAH CHANDLER, presented by the State of Michigan, 16,500 copies, of which 5,000 shall be for the use of the Senate and 10,000 for the use of the House of Representatives, and the remaining 1,500 copies shall be for the use and distribution of the Senators and Representatives in Congress from the State of Michigan.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Perhaps it would be better to follow the usual course of such resolutions. I ask that it be referred to the Committee on Printing.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The concurrent resolution will be referred to the Committee on Printing.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I desire to call up Senate resolution 119.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair is informed, and so notifies the Senator from Michigan, that this resolution is before the Committee on the Library and has not been reported.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I desire to give notice that on Monday, July 28, at 3 o'clock p. m., I shall call up Senate resolution 119 and address the Senate relative to the public services of ZACHARIAH CHANDLER, in connection with the presentation of his statue to the Government.

THURSDAY, JULY 10, 1913

Mr. SMOOT. From the Committee on Printing I report back with an amendment Senate concurrent resolution No. 5, providing for the printing and binding of the proceedings attending the unveiling and acceptance of the statue of ZACHARIAH CHANDLER, and I ask unanimous consent for its present consideration.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I should like to hear some explanation as to why that request should be made. What peculiar reason is there for it?

Mr. SMOOT. I will state to the Senator that it is the usual form of such resolutions. The senior Senator from Michigan [Mr. Smith] gave notice that at 3 o'clock on July 28, 1913, he would call up Senate resolution 119 and address the Senate relative to the public service of ZACHARIAH CHANDLER in connection with the presentation of the statue, which, of course, will be placed in Statuary Hall.

Mr. TOWNSEND. The statue is already in position.

Mr. SMOOT. I am informed that it is already in the hall. This is simply such a resolution as we always pass authoriz-

ing the proceedings at the unveiling and acceptance of the statue to be printed.

Mr. WILLIAMS. He is the man who held the Tilden-Hayes campaign decision with a mailed fist, is he not?

Mr. SMOOT. I am not in a position to decide that question; it cuts no figure here. This is a resolution similar to those we always pass in such cases.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I have no objection.

The VICE PRESIDENT. There being no objection, the resolution will be read for the information of the Senate.

The Secretary read the resolution, as follows:

Resolved, etc., That there be printed and bound, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, the proceedings in Congress, together with the proceedings at the unveiling in Statuary Hall, upon the acceptance of the statue of ZACHARIAH CHANDLER, presented by the State of Michigan, 16,500 copies, of which 5,000 shall be for the use of the Senate and 10,000 for the use of the House of Representatives, and the remaining 1,500 copies shall be for the use and distribution of the Senators and Representatives in Congress from the State of Michigan.

The amendment was, on page 1, line 2, after the word "bound," to insert the words "with illustrations."

Mr. WILLIAMS. What are the illustrations?

Mr. SMOOT. There is simply one illustration in all public documents of this character, and that is a cut of the person in whose honor the services are held.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Then, instead of "illustrations," it ought to be "illustration."

Mr. SMOOT. I simply used the word which has been in other similar resolutions.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I am perfectly willing that shall be done. I simply wanted to know what it was.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on the amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

The resolution as amended was agreed to.

THURSDAY, JULY 24, 1913

Mr. TOWNSEND. Mr. President, there is on the calendar a notice given by my colleague [Mr. Smith of Michigan] that on July 28, at 3 o'clock p. m., he would call up Senate resolution No. 119. I desire to state at this time that in order that it may not interfere with other business this order will be postponed. I shall ask to have it postponed until a time to be fixed later, after my colleague returns.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair is informed by the Secretary that the resolution itself fixes July 28.

Mr. TOWNSEND. I am giving notice now that I shall ask to have that postponed, so that it will not interfere with the tariff debate which will come on, because it will not be considered at that time.

MONDAY, APRIL 20, 1914

A message from the House of Representatives, by J. C. South, its Chief Clerk, announced that the House had passed a concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 36) presenting the thanks of Congress to the governor, and through him to the people, of Michigan, for the statue of ZACHARIAH CHANDLER, etc., in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

FRIDAY, APRIL 24, 1914

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I ask unanimous consent to take up House concurrent resolution 36 for immediate consideration.

Mr. GALLINGER. It is a message from the House?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. It is a House concurrent resolution. Is there objection to its present consideration?

Mr. OVERMAN. I should like to hear it read.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Secretary will read the concurrent resolution.

The concurrent resolution was read and considered by unanimous consent, as follows:

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That the thanks of Congress be presented to the governor, and through him to the people of Michigan, for the statue of ZACHARIAH CHANDLER, whose name is so honorably identified with the history of that State and of the United States.

Resolved, That this work of art is accepted in the name of the Nation and assigned a place in the old Hall of the House of Representatives, already set aside by act of Congress for statues of eminent citizens, and that a copy of this resolution, signed by the President of the Senate and Speaker of the House of Representatives, be transmitted to the governor of the State of Michigan.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the proceedings incident to the dedication of this statue may be printed in the Record without reading.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The Senate has heard the request of the Senator from Michigan. Unless there is objection, it will be granted. The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

The proceedings referred to will be found on pages 7-32.

ADDRESS OF SENATOR CHARLES E. TOWNSEND

Mr. President, it was my misfortune to be absent on the business of the Senate when the exercises attending the unveiling in this Capitol of the statue of ZACHARIAH CHANDLER were held, and now, in moving the adoption of the resolution asking for the acceptance of that statue by Congress, I desire briefly to pay my humble tribute to the memory, life, and public services of one of Michigan's most distinguished sons. From the long list of her illustrious dead she has selected for places in our Valhalla of Fame two men who typify not alone the greatness of her great men of the past, but whose characters, statesmanship, and patriotism made them peers of any man our country has produced at any time.

Lewis Cass and ZACHARIAH CHANDLER were contemporaries, representing the different political theories and policies of their time. Cass was a Democrat, CHANDLER a Republican. While differing in their political views, they were one in uncompromising honesty and lofty patriotism. Both represented their State in the Senate, but not at the same time, CHANDLER having succeeded Cass in this body, where the former served for more than a fifth of a century. Their honorable rivalry as leaders of their respective parties produced a standard of politics in Michigan justly famous for its strength and ability. "There were giants in those days." The honorable friction of strong, honest, big men results in the development of strength and character. The lives of Cass and CHANDLER did much to mold and shape the history of Michigan. How fitting it is that these two men who, during a portion of their lives, worked together, should be selected by the State they honored with such distinction as her contribution to the Nation's chamber of immortals. In yonder hall their marble statues stand, surrounded by those

of Washington, Adams, Webster, Benton, Calhoun, Morton, Garfield, and a score of other illustrious Americans.

What a galaxy of symbolized greatness! If their immortal spirits could invest those marble shafts, a convocation of the greatest minds, the most eloquent orators, the most able statesmen ever gathered at one time and place in all the tide of time could there be held.

The character and services of ZACHARIAH CHANDLER have been eloquently and faithfully told on another occasion. What was said there will be published for the benefit of those who are interested in them, so I shall not take the time of the Senate to repeat in a feeble manner what will appear in the published report.

The great characteristics of ZACHARIAH CHANDLER were his unsullied honor, his uncompromising fidelity to principle, his absolute fearlessness in a cause which he believed to be just.

His public life and services were in a time which "tried men's souls."

He was a Republican of Republicans. He was at the birth of the Republican Party "under the oaks" at Jackson, Mich. He helped to shape its principles. He assisted in dedicating it to the cause of liberty. He directed as much as any other man its efforts to destroy African slavery. He was the unyielding enemy of treason and disunion. With merciless impartiality he flayed the secessionist, the northern copperhead, and the timid, time-serving Republican. He followed without the shadow of turning the direct path from offense to punishment.

His uncompromising force and energy made active and bitter enemies. No great man, fearless in effort and unyielding in determination, ever failed to make enemies, but of such men are made the leaders of principle, the avengers of wrong.

CHANDLER was the close friend and adviser of Abraham Lincoln. Upon him the President leaned for comfort and courage. His confidence in the Union cause never wavered,

and when the clouds of the Civil War lowered darkest President Lincoln sent for CHANDLER, and immediately hope revived and courage was renewed.

Michigan has done well in embalming in enduring marble her distinguished son. In the Hall of Fame his effigy will be a decoration of honor to the Nation which he did so much to preserve.

I ask the Senate to accept from Michigan her statue of ZACHARIAH CHANDLER. I ask for the adoption of the concurrent resolution.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is on agreeing to the concurrent resolution.

The concurrent resolution was agreed to.

PROCEEDINGS IN THE HOUSE

TUESDAY, JUNE 24, 1913

Mr. KELLEY of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of a resolution which I send to the Clerk's desk.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Michigan asks unanimous consent for the present consideration of a resolution which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That exercises appropriate to the reception and acceptance from the State of Michigan of the statue of ZACHARIAH CHANDLER, erected in Statuary Hall in the Capitol, be made the special order for Monday, July 28, 1913.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The resolution was agreed to.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 9, 1913

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Tulley, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed the following resolution (S. Con. Res. 4), in which the concurrence of the House of Representatives was requested:

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That the statue of ZACHARIAH CHANDLER, presented by the State of Michigan to be placed in Statuary Hall, is accepted in the name of the United States, and that the thanks of Congress be tendered to the State for the contribution of the statue of one of its most eminent citizens, illustrious for the purity of his life and his distinguished services to the State and Nation.

Second. That a copy of these resolutions, suitably engrossed and duly authenticated, be transmitted to the governor of the State of Michigan.

SATURDAY, JULY 12, 1913

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Carr, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed bills, resolutions, and concurrent resolution of the following titles, in which the concurrence of the House of Representatives was requested:

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That there be printed and bound, with illustrations, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, the proceedings in Congress, together with the proceedings at the unveiling in Statuary Hall, upon the acceptance of the statue of ZACHARIAH CHANDLER, presented by the State of Michigan, 16,500 copies, of which 5,000 shall be for the use of the Senate and 10,000 for the use of the House of Representatives, and the remaining 1,500 copies shall be for the use and distribution of the Senators and Representatives in Congress from the State of Michigan.

Under clause 2 of Rule XXIV, Senate concurrent resolution of the following title was taken from the Speaker's table and referred to its appropriate committee, as indicated below:


Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That there be printed and bound, with illustrations, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, the proceedings in Congress, together with the proceedings at the unveiling in Statuary Hall, upon the acceptance of the statue of ZACHARIAH CHANDLER, presented by the State of Michigan, 16,500 copies, of which 5,000 shall be for the use of the Senate and 10,000 for the use of the House of Representatives, and the remaining 1,500 copies shall be for the use and distribution of the Senators and Representatives in Congress from the State of Michigan.

—to the Committee on Printing.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 12, 1913

Under clause 2, Rule XXIV, Senate resolution (S. Con. Res. 4) of the following title was taken from the Speaker's table and referred to the appropriate committee, as indicated below:

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That the statue of ZACHARIAH CHANDLER, presented by the State of Michigan, to be placed in Statuary Hall, is accepted in the name of the United States, and that the thanks of Congress be tendered to the State for the contribution of



the statue of one of its most eminent citizens, illustrious for the purity of his life and his distinguished services to the State and Nation.

That a copy of this resolution, suitably engrossed and duly authenticated, be transmitted to the governor of the State of Michigan.

—to the Committee on the Library.¹

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 5, 1913

Mr. BARNHART. Mr. Speaker, I want to submit concurrent resolution No. 5, a privileged resolution, and move its adoption.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Indiana [Mr. Barnhart] submits a privileged resolution, which the Clerk will report.

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That there be printed and bound, with illustrations, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, the proceedings in Congress, together with the proceedings at the unveiling in Statuary Hall, upon the acceptance of the statue of ZACHARIAH CHANDLER, presented by the State of Michigan, 16,500 copies, of which 5,000 shall be for the use of the Senate and 10,000 for the use of the House of Representatives, and the remaining 1,500 copies shall be for the use and distribution of the Senators and Representatives in Congress from the State of Michigan.

Mr. MANN. There was a date set for the proceedings in the Senate and a date set for the proceedings in the House. The proceedings took place in neither the Senate nor the House. I assume that there will be proceedings hereafter in the House. I understood at the time that the Michigan delegation was waiting, for some reason or other. A special date was fixed, but the proceedings were not had on that date. If this resolution will cover the proceedings in the House and Senate when they are had, that will satisfy the demand; but if they go ahead with the publication of the proceedings before the proceedings are had, it would be a little awkward.

Mr. BARNHART. Well, their resolution came over from the Senate.

¹ Senate concurrent resolution 4 was superseded by House concurrent resolution 36, which was agreed to by both Houses.

Mr. MANN. Now, is the gentleman able to say, if this resolution passes, will the publication be held up until these proceedings can have occurred?

Mr. BARNHART. It certainly will.

Mr. FOSTER. Well, Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will permit, is it not a rather unusual proceeding to get permission to print before the ceremonies are held? That is a good deal like providing for the publication of a funeral oration over a man before the man is dead.

Mr. BURNETT. This is for the usual expense for printing the proceedings in Congress?

Mr. BARNHART. Yes. It is the usual expense.

Mr. MANN. "The proceedings in Congress" mean the proceedings in the Senate and in the House. Usually that is included.

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call the attention of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Mann] to the fact that some proceedings have already taken place in the House looking to the acceptance of the statue. Under the language of the resolution they would simply print those proceedings in Statuary Hall, and not the future proceedings in Congress. There would not be any warrant or authority under this resolution to print any eulogies or anything of that kind delivered in the future.

Mr. MANN. We do not know whether the resolution for the acceptance of the statue has passed yet or not.

Mr. BARNHART. Yes; it has.

Mr. MANN. It is customary for the resolution to pass at the time the proceedings are had.

Mr. BARNHART. If there is any objection to this resolution, or if it be irregular, I have no disposition to urge its passage. It has simply come over from the Senate with the request that it be agreed to, and the Committee on Printing acted favorably upon it, and I have reported it.

Mr. MANN. I am calling the attention of the gentleman to the situation, so that, if the resolution passes, the Printing Office will not proceed with the printing of a part of the pro-

ceedings until all of the proceedings are had and the statue is accepted.

Mr. BARNHART. I think I can give the gentleman from Illinois full assurance that that will not be done.

Mr. J. M. C. SMITH. I should like to inquire whether this resolution was sent over by either one of the Senators from Michigan, both of whom are now absent? I understand there was a day set apart for the ceremonies in the House, but on that day it was inconvenient to have those proceedings, because something else was being considered in the House.

The SPEAKER. The House set a day on which to accept the statue, and on that day the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Gardner] raised the point of no quorum before the House ever got started.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker, in justice to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Gardner], who raised the point of no quorum, it is proper to say that it was not the expectation on that day to take up the special order. That understanding had been reached among the gentlemen on both sides of the House.

The SPEAKER. The Chair is not criticizing the gentleman from Massachusetts. The Chair will state to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. J. M. C. Smith] that this is a concurrent resolution which the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. Barnhart] has called up after it came over from the Senate in the usual course of business. It was brought over by one of the secretaries of the Senate, with a message announcing its passage and requesting the concurrence of the House of Representatives.

Mr. MANN. The resolution was passed by the Senate prematurely. I do not know that that makes any difference.

Mr. BARNHART. Possibly the Senate passed it with the understanding that the proceedings had been had in the House. The day had been set, and then the proceedings were deferred.

Mr. MANN. But the proceedings were not had in the Senate. They were deferred in the Senate in the same way.

The SPEAKER. The House will expect the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. Barnhart] to see to it that the proceedings are not published prematurely.

Mr. BARNHART. The gentleman from Indiana will see to that.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The resolution was agreed to

TUESDAY, MARCH 10, 1914

Mr. SAMUEL W. SMITH. Mr. Speaker, on the 30th day of last June the statue of ZACHARIAH CHANDLER was unveiled in Statuary Hall with appropriate exercises. I ask unanimous consent that Sunday, April 12, 1914, be set apart by the House of Representatives for the acceptance of the statue and the delivery of appropriate addresses on the life, character, and public services of ZACHARIAH CHANDLER, late a Senator from the State of Michigan.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Michigan asks unanimous consent that Sunday, April 12, 1914, be set apart for the purpose of accepting the statue of the late Senator ZACHARIAH CHANDLER and the delivery of appropriate addresses upon his life, character, and public service. Is there objection?

There was no objection, and it was so ordered.

* * * * *

Mr. SAMUEL W. SMITH. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the order may be set aside fixing Sunday, April 12, for exercises in relation to the acceptance of the statue of ZACHARIAH CHANDLER for the reason that it occurs on Easter Sunday.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Michigan asks unanimous consent that the order made this morning fixing Sunday, April 12, to make speeches about Senator ZACHARIAH

CHANDLER be set aside. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. SAMUEL W. SMITH. Mr. Speaker, I now desire to offer the following resolution.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the resolution.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That exercises appropriate for the reception and acceptance from the State of Michigan of the statue of ZACHARIAH CHANDLER, erected in Statuary Hall, in the Capitol, be made the special order for Sunday, April 19, 1914.

The question was taken and the resolution was agreed to.

SUNDAY, APRIL 19, 1914

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Clerk read the following communication:

APRIL 18, 1914.

HON. SOUTH TRIMBLE,

Clerk of the House.

I hereby designate Mr. Doremus, of Michigan, to preside on Sunday, April 19, at the ceremonies in honor of the late Senator CHANDLER, of Michigan.

CHAMP CLARK, *Speaker*.

Mr. Doremus assumed the chair as Speaker pro tempore.

The Chaplain, Rev. Henry N. Couden, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Our Father in heaven, we meet here on this peaceful Sabbath day under the dome of our great Capitol in memory of one of Michigan's illustrious sons, whose statue has been presented to the Nation. Long may his memory live, and longer yet his deeds inspire those who shall come after us to patriotism and loyalty to the principles of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness for all men, of all climes, of all times, that the flag of our Union may be upheld in peace or in war now and forever in the spirit of righteousness, truth, and justice, and Thine be the praise, in His name. Amen.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will read the special order for to-day.

The Clerk read as follows:

On motion of Mr. Samuel W. Smith, House resolution No. 436, setting aside Sunday, April 19, 1914, for exercises appropriate to the acceptance of the statue to Hon. ZACHARIAH CHANDLER, late a Senator from the State of Michigan, and addresses upon his life, character, and public services, was agreed to March 10, 1914.

Mr. SAMUEL W. SMITH. Mr. Speaker, I move the adoption of the following resolution.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Michigan moves the adoption of the resolution which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

House concurrent resolution No. 36

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That the thanks of Congress be presented to the governor, and through him to the people of Michigan, for the statue of ZACHARIAH CHANDLER, whose name is so honorably identified with the history of that State and of the United States.

Resolved, That this work of art is accepted in the name of the Nation and assigned a place in the old Hall of the House of Representatives, already set aside by act of Congress for statues of eminent citizens, and that a copy of this resolution, signed by the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives, be transmitted to the governor of the State of Michigan.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the adoption of the resolution.

The question was taken, and the resolution was unanimously agreed to.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair will recognize the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Hamilton].

ADDRESS OF HON. EDWARD L. HAMILTON

Mr. Speaker, these statues commemorate in stone and bronze the qualities that have made men great in the flesh.

What were the qualities of ZACHARIAH CHANDLER that single him out from the long roll of Michigan's distinguished dead?

It is not because he was a United States Senator and a successful business man that his statue is here.

Statues are not erected to public office or to business success. Nobody stops to inquire how much of an estate Cæsar or Shakespeare left.

A public place is only an opportunity. In it a small man looks smaller, just as a small statue on a big pedestal looks smaller by contrast.

CHANDLER died a rich Senator; but if that summed up CHANDLER no statue would be erected to him.

If you pick out a man in an assembly of distinguished men and ask who he is, you are given a name, and the name tells you who he is, because the name carries with it a reputation—that is, the name stands for something.

The name ZACH CHANDLER stands for honesty, sincerity, resolution, courage, convictions, and fighting patriotism.

And it stands for something more than these qualities; it stands for the thing we call personality.

There are eminent men in public life who keep their emotions in cold storage and arrive at conclusions by a process of cold reasoning accelerated by expediency.

CHANDLER'S intellect was fired by the intensity of his convictions.

CHANDLER was sincere. It is hard to beat an accomplished, unscrupulous, versatile, and experienced hypocrite; but CHANDLER had in him a fierce, uncompromising intolerance for shams that made hypocrisy shrivel up.

I have a theory that if a man carries around with him the internal consciousness of being a sham, he will eventually cave in.

CHANDLER was sound to the core and stood the test of every emergency and of every responsibility.

CHANDLER was not a genius. He was a common man in an uncommon degree.

Congress goes on forever, and now and then grinds out some reputations, few of which survive; but CHANDLER stands out against the background of years as one of a group of men of a critical time uncompromisingly devoted to the Union and to freedom.

THE PURITAN STRAIN

ZACHARIAH CHANDLER was born at Bedford, N. H., December 10, 1813, of a line of Puritan ancestors.

Maurice Low, in his book, *The American People*, says:

The Bible was the Constitution of the Puritan. * * * Whether he worked or played, whether he sat in meeting house or in the general court, whether he tilled his fields, or snatched up his musket at the sound of an Indian alarm, wherever he went or whatever he did, he took his creed with him, for it was the criterion of right living, the benison of Divine grace.

Faith in God, faith in man, faith in work—this is the short formula in which we may sum up the teachings of the founders of New England, a creed simple enough for this life and the next. (Lowell, *Among My Books*, vol. 1, p. 229.)

From these people, into the fiber of whose being was woven the Puritan strain—from these people of sinewy frames, iron wills, keen eyes, steady hands, and bold hearts; from these people, nurtured by a rough and stubborn soil, fronted by "a stern and rock-bound coast," came ZACHARIAH CHANDLER, afterwards known as the great war Senator of Michigan.

He worked on a farm summers and went to a district school winters.

He had two winters of academic instruction, taught school one term, worked in the store of Kendrick & Foster, of Nashua, N. H., in 1833, and in the fall of that year moved to Detroit and went into the dry goods business.

He was then 20 years old, tall, gaunt, awkward and wiry, of plain manners, plain speech, and great energy.

He worked hard, slept in the store, and lived on \$300 a year.

His business expanded from a local retail trade to a State-wide wholesale trade, and as his business widened he commenced and continued the custom of visiting his customers throughout the State once a year.

In this way he gained an intimate knowledge of the resources of the State and a wide acquaintance with the people, which contributed to his success in business and in politics.

MICHIGAN TERRITORY

Men are affected by their environment—by the stage on which they play their parts.

The year CHANDLER came to Detroit it was announced that a stage line would be established by which travelers could go from Detroit to Chicago in five days. We run through now in about six hours.

Michigan Territory, as defined by Congress in 1834, comprehended what is now Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa, Minnesota, the east half of South Dakota, and the east two-thirds of North Dakota.

By the census of 1830 the civilized population of this vast domain was less than 33,000.

Then there were only 23 miles of railroad in the United States, and there was not a gaslight, electric light, telegraph, telephone, or corporate combination in the world.

The Niles Register reported in 1834 that the arrivals in Detroit had reached 960 in one day and that "the streets were full of wagons, loading and departing for the West."

Statues are milestones, which tell us how far and in what direction we have traveled.

The formative period of our political history runs approximately from the Articles of Confederation down to 1820. The rise and fall of the Whig Party covers the years from 1820 to 1856, and the period of Civil War and reconstruction runs from 1856 to 1876.

COMPROMISE AND THE END OF COMPROMISE

Events do not spring up accidentally. History has its premises and conclusions.

The Missouri compromise of 1820 forever prohibited slavery north of 36 degrees and 30 minutes north latitude in all the Louisiana Territory.

In 1844 Texas became a State, and in all the discussion of Clay's omnibus bill of 1850 there was no suggestion that its compromises were intended to supersede or in any way to change the Missouri compromise line.

The treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, February 2, 1848, gave us Texas, California, and New Mexico, which then included Arizona, and the Rio Grande became part of our southwestern boundary.

In 1849 no policy had been agreed upon concerning slavery in our Territories, and a smoldering excitement possessed the public mind.

The Free Soil spirit was growing stronger in the North, pro-slavery aggressiveness was growing stronger in the South, and the controversy had been inflamed by the finding of gold in California in 1848.

It was under these conditions that Mr. Clay offered his three compromise measures.

The first was the so-called "omnibus bill," which provided for the admission of California as a State, the organization of Utah and New Mexico as Territories without any restrictions as to slavery, the adjustment of the Texas boundary line, and the payment of \$10,000,000 to Texas for her claims on a part of New Mexico; the second was a fugitive-slave law; and the third prohibited the slave trade in the District of Columbia.

After these compromises, notwithstanding the irritation of the fugitive-slave law, and notwithstanding the appearance of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, a quiet settled upon the people like a lull before a storm.

In his message of December 5, 1853, Franklin Pierce congratulated the country on the "restored sense of repose in

the public mind," and within a month Stephen A. Douglas, chairman of the Senate Committee on the Territories, with the approval of the President, reported a bill to organize the Territory of Nebraska, which was recommitted and reappeared as a bill to organize two Territories—Kansas and Nebraska.

It provided that all laws of the United States should be extended to the proposed Territories, except the compromise section of "the act preparatory to the admission of Missouri;" which, being inconsistent with the principles of the Clay compromise measures, was declared inoperative and void.

It declared that "the true intent and meaning of the bill" was not to legislate slavery into or exclude it from any State or Territory, but to leave the people free to form and regulate their own domestic institutions in their own way, subject to the Constitution of the United States; and finally it provided that the fugitive-slave law should extend to the Territories.

This bill removed what Sumner called "the landmarks of freedom."

In the white heat of intense feeling the people began to divide on the issue of slavery, and the fight for the soil of Kansas and Nebraska hurried the Nation on to civil war.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY AND CHANDLER

The Kansas-Nebraska bill became a law May 31, 1854, and 36 days afterwards the Republican Party came into being "under the oaks" at Jackson, Mich., as the incarnation of an aroused national conscience.

CHANDLER was among the leading spirits of that meeting.

He had been elected mayor of Detroit in 1851, and had been nominated and defeated for governor of Michigan in 1852. Like Saul, the son of Kish, the spirit of prophecy had come upon him, and he had turned from his own business to the business of his country.

In the campaign of 1854 Democratic newspapers called him in derision "the traveling agent of the new Abolition Party."

The days from fifty-four to fifty-six were radical, robust, resolute days in Michigan, and CHANDLER was everywhere in the midst of the fight.

The term of Lewis Cass as Senator from Michigan expired March 4, 1857, and CHANDLER was elected to succeed him.

The Senate met in special session March 4. Senators took the oath of office in groups of four, and CHANDLER was sworn in with Jefferson Davis.

Twenty-two years afterwards, while the wounds of war were not yet healed, while yet the fierce antagonisms of warring sections were not yet cooled, aroused by fulsome eulogies of Davis in the Senate, CHANDLER recalled that first oath of office and in one of the most impressive speeches of his lifetime charged that "with treason in his heart and perjury on his lips" Jefferson Davis "took the oath to sustain the Government that he meant to overthrow."

CHANDLER entered the Senate with an intense hatred of slavery and without an ounce of compromise in him.

He entered the Senate at a time when the followers of John C. Calhoun saw that the only alternative was extermination of slavery or secession.

His first prepared address was on the Le Compton constitution.

In 1857 the Dred Scott decision further fed the antislavery flame, and a year later the whole country was listening with intense interest for news from the prairies of Illinois, where the Lincoln-Douglas debates were day after day reducing the issues involved in a conflict of ideas within "a house divided against itself" to clearly defined terms beyond the power of peaceful arbitration.

THE QUESTION

CHANDLER led the fight for Lincoln in Michigan in 1860, and Michigan gave Lincoln a majority of more than 23,000 over Douglas.

Forty-eight hours after Lincoln was elected President the Legislature of South Carolina called a State convention

which voted South Carolina out of the Union, and the newspapers of South Carolina began to publish news from the rest of the country under the head of "Foreign intelligence."

As our Republic had widened westward under the Constitution as it was before the arbitrament of war had been framed into constitutional amendments, it had become more and more apparent that no arbitrary line of latitude could permanently define the frontier between right and wrong within an undivided nation.

No doctrine of the rights of States, no Missouri compromise, no Clay compromise, no Dred Scott decision could quiet in the minds of men the eternal, daily question of human rights.

The spirit that inspired that question was in the air. It sat down at every council board. It entered into and took possession of men, and took unto itself such names as Phillips, Lovejoy, Garrison, and John Brown. It would not down.

It teased men till they invented sophisms to refute it. It set families at variance. It set pulpits at variance. It lighted the camp fires of armies, whose contentions shook the continent.

It mowed men down with "the level hail of death."

It added to the vocabulary of war such names as Donelson, Shiloh, Gettysburg, and the Wilderness.

Long before it had sought out a lonely frontier cabin and presided at the birth of Abraham Lincoln. It made him its instrument; and five days after Appomattox his spirit, liberated by the hand of an assassin from its thrall of tremendous responsibility, took its flight in the golden dawn of a new day, and his fame passed into immortality.

WAR AND THE LAST CHAPTER

CHANDLER was a member of the Committee on the Conduct of the War, and was one of Lincoln's friends and advisers when he was "carrying the Constitution through the wilderness of fear" without precedent or parallel to govern or direct him.

When the whirlwinds of passion were turned loose and the clouds that lowered over the Republic were red with the flames of war he never thought of compromise.

Compromise had no place in his temperament. He never admitted the possibility of defeat. He denounced every suggestion of peace except the peace of an undivided Nation swept clean of slavery.

He visited the sick and the wounded in the hospitals, and no soldier in trouble ever applied to him in vain.

CHANDLER was at the meridian of his mental powers when Lincoln died and the war ended. He lived 14 years after that in the constant service of his country.

He helped to pass the reconstruction acts. He voted "guilty" on the impeachment of Johnson.

He believed in protection to American labor and American industry and voted for the Morrill tariff of 1861.

He believed in the dignity of labor and defended it.

He stood for sound money and national honesty and considered the public debt a sacred obligation.

He voted to redeem our paper money and pay our bonds in gold.

He voted for the resumption of specie payments against a powerful public sentiment for inflation, saying, "We need one thing besides more money, and that is better money."

He was defeated in 1875, succeeded by Christiancy, and appointed Secretary of the Interior.

The Interior Department had fallen into disrepute as sheltering fraud, corruption, and incompetency. CHANDLER brought to bear the resources of a trained business experience, and cleaned it out.

Nature keeps books and makes her marks on human faces. CHANDLER'S face was a face of resolution.

He was a leader of men. He was without cant and without hypocrisy. He had no patience with the cheap and sterile kind of politics which is willing to ignore the truth to gain political advantage.

He went straight to the point without equivocation.

His vocabulary knew no refinement of casuistry.

As an orator he was plain, direct, blunt, powerful.

He was not the kind of statesman, too common now, to whom noise and headlines mean distinction.

He was big in every way. He had his faults, but the prowlers and the scavengers, the searchers of the garbage heaps of history for soiled and tainted scraps with which to discredit the dead, have never dragged to light an unwholesome thing about CHANDLER.

He died at Chicago the night of October 31, 1879, in the midst of a hot campaign.

He came to the Senate of a Nation with slavery embedded in its Constitution and he left it a Nation of free workers.

He came to the Senate of a Nation divided by sectional interests; he left it a united Nation.

He came to the Senate of a Nation which doubted the strength of its own Constitution; he left it with a Constitution established as the fundamental law of an indestructible Union symbolized by one flag, whose stripes are red with the blood of patriots shed that its stars might shine together. [Applause.]

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The Chair will recognize the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Fordney].

ADDRESS OF HON. JOSEPH W. FORDNEY

Mr. Speaker, in 1864, the old hall of the House of Representatives was opened for the reception of the statues of two citizens of each State "illustrious for their historic renown or for distinguished civic or military services." Since then 43 great Americans have been selected for remembrance, and every time I go through Statuary Hall and look at the heroic figures of Lewis Cass and ZACHARIAH CHANDLER I am more proud than ever that I am a citizen of Michigan. Among the millions of her people, living and dead, these two tremendous characters stand preeminent.

Cass was so much older than CHANDLER that he was governor of the Territory of Michigan the year CHANDLER was born in New Hampshire. Cass went to Michigan in the days of the Indians, whose flint arrowheads the farmers around Detroit still pick from the furrows in the fall and spring plowing. His masterful dealings with those woodland warriors, in connection with Gov. Clark, of the Missouri Territory, ended the record of Indian supremacy.

Like CHANDLER after him, Cass was long a Senator of the United States; like him also a Cabinet officer; and in 1844 came within six votes of receiving a majority of the Democratic national convention for the presidential nomination, which finally went to James K. Polk. Cass was succeeded in the United States Senate by the most illustrious figure in the political history of Michigan, whose statue we proudly accept to-day and to whose career we may now give a brief glance.

The record of this day's proceedings will fully set forth the many steps of CHANDLER'S progress and the incidents of his life, beginning on a New England farm, where comfort rewarded cheerful toil; where there were no slavish repinings against the cold snow of winter or the hardness of

the soil, but a winning battle with ax and plow that wrested from the rocky New Hampshire hills a plenty of warmth and food and shelter and money in the bank.

And then the sturdy boy, with a thousand dollars in his pocket, went west to the Territory that was so soon to knock successfully for the opening door of statehood.

When young CHANDLER landed in Detroit, in 1833, the fur trader had scarce departed. On the long river-front street the white palings of the picket fences still stood in front of the half doors of the old French habitants. The general store, which was opened by the pink-cheeked young giant, was a trade innovation. And so he started on his prosperous way, first as retailer, then as a wholesaler, with a State-wide list of customers, and every customer a friend. In hard times he gave longer credits than any rival would or could, and afterwards boasted that he never lost a dollar by it. As he said near the end of his life in a public speech:

I think I know the people of Michigan as well as any man in it, and I know they are honest people.

His steady commercial success was the more remarkable, because in the early part of his career the State of Michigan, then the home of the "wildcat" bank, passed through a cyclone of financial disaster which left its mark on nearly every man who had anything to lose. In the Greenback craze of 1876 and 1878 CHANDLER recalled with telling effect, in some of the most effective political speeches ever delivered in the State, the memory of those times.

Detroit was one of the principal termini of the "underground railroad" for the landing of escaping slaves into Canada, and CHANDLER's New England sympathies made him an active supporter of that cause. The Republican Party was born in 1854 under the oaks at Jackson, and CHANDLER was there. For the next 25 years, until his death, no name on the bright pages of our party's great history shed more continuous luster than that of ZACHARIAH CHANDLER.

On March 4, 1857, Mr. CHANDLER took his seat in the Senate, where, with an intermission of four years—during part of which he was Grant's Secretary of the Interior and chairman of the Republican national committee—he remained until the day of his death.

Those who heard CHANDLER's public speaking will never forget it. He had a tall, commanding figure; a resonant voice. Abraham Lincoln himself could not surpass him in clearness of expression, and he had a power of statement that was remarkable. In his first speech in the Senate he said:

The old women of the North who have been in the habit of crying out "The Union is in danger" have passed off the stage. They are dead. Their places will never be supplied; but in their stead we have a race of men who are devoted to this Union and devoted to it as Jefferson and the fathers made it and bequeathed it to us. Every aggression has been submitted to by the race who have gone off the stage. They are ready to compromise any principle, anything. The men of the present day are a different race. They will compromise nothing. They are Union-loving men; they love all portions of the Union; they will sacrifice anything but principle to save it. They will, however, make no sacrifice of principle. Never; never! No more compromises will ever be submitted to to save the Union. If it is worth saving, it will be saved. The only way that we shall save it and make it permanent as the everlasting hills will be by restoring it to the original foundations upon which the fathers placed it. I trust in God civil war will never come; but if it should come, upon their heads, and theirs alone, will rest the responsibility for every drop of blood that may flow.

The idea foreshadowed in this brief extract was the guiding thought in Mr. CHANDLER's mind through all the years that followed. Cato was no more fixed in his idea that Carthage must be destroyed than CHANDLER was rock-bedded in the determination that the Union must be preserved. In 1862, in a Senate speech, he denounced Gen. McClellan for inefficiency, and it was probably this speech which resulted in Grant's transfer. CHANDLER made the motion that created the Senate Committee on the Conduct of the War. He was long the chairman of the Committee on Commerce, and the St. Clair Flats Canal, the first great improvement of the navigation of the Great Lakes, is as truly a monument to him for his help to the water transpor-

tation of this country as are the jetties of the Mississippi a monument to Eads.

But it was his overwhelming love of country, his unbounded Americanism, that made him great and that has finally placed him on yonder pedestal to stand there as long as this Government endures. There was a wideness to his patriotism like the wideness of the sea. His pride in the State of Michigan was pride in it as a part of the United States of America. He was a bitter partisan, as bitter in his defiance of the foes of national unity as a frontiersman defending his family against an Indian attack. The last speech he ever made in the Senate was so characteristic that, as a part of these proceedings and as a reminder of the spirit of those times, I quote it entire. It was on a bill relating to Mexican War pensions. There is as much war history in it as in any equal number of words ever uttered. He said:

Mr. President, 22 years ago to-morrow, in the old Hall of the Senate, now occupied by the Supreme Court of the United States, I, in company with Mr. Jefferson Davis, stood up and swore before Almighty God that I would support the Constitution of the United States. Mr. Jefferson Davis came from the Cabinet of Franklin Pierce into the Senate of the United States and took the oath with me to be faithful to this Government. During four years I sat in this body with Mr. Jefferson Davis and saw the preparations going on from day to day for the overthrow of this Government. With treason in his heart and perjury upon his lips he took the oath to sustain the Government that he meant to overthrow.

Sir, there was method in that madness. He, in cooperation with other men from his section and in the Cabinet of Mr. Buchanan, made careful preparation for the event that was to follow. Your armies were scattered all over this broad land, where they could not be used in an emergency; your fleets were scattered wherever the winds blew and water was found to float them, where they could not be used to put down rebellion; your Treasury was depleted until your bonds, bearing 6 per cent, principal and interest payable in coin, were sold for 88 cents on the dollar for current expenses, and no buyers. Preparations were carefully made. Your arms were sold under an apparently innocent clause in an Army bill providing that the Secretary of War might, at his discretion, sell such arms as he deemed it for the interest of the Government to sell.

Sir, 18 years ago last month I sat in these Halls and listened to Jefferson Davis delivering his farewell address, informing us what our constitutional duties to this Government were, and then he left and entered into the rebellion to overthrow the Government that he had sworn to support. I remained here,

sir, during the whole of that terrible rebellion. I saw our brave soldiers by thousands and hundreds of thousands, aye, I might say, millions, pass through to the theater of war, and I saw their shattered ranks return; I saw steamboat after steamboat and railroad train after railroad train arrive with the maimed and the wounded; I was with my friend from Rhode Island, Mr. Burnside, when he commanded the Army of the Potomac, and saw piles of legs and arms that made humanity shudder; I saw the widow and the orphan in their homes, and heard the weeping and wailing of those who had lost their dearest and their best. Mr. President, I little thought at that time that I should live to hear in the Senate of the United States eulogies upon Jefferson Davis, living—a living rebel eulogized on the floor of the Senate of the United States. Sir, I am amazed to hear it; and I can tell the gentlemen on the other side that they little know the spirit of the North when they come here at this day, and with bravado on their lips utter eulogies upon a man whom every man, woman, and child in the North believes to have been a double-dyed traitor to his Government.

In the fall of 1879 there was a State campaign in Ohio, in which Senator CHANDLER took an active part. He made a speech at Sandusky on Thursday before the election, and then took a flying trip to Chicago, where on Saturday night, October 31, he delivered an address in closing the local campaign there—an address which contained one passage that was prophetic, though he could not know that it was his dying declaration. In full vigor and with a ringing voice he said:

It has become the custom of late to restrict the lines of citizenship, and in the Senate and Congress of the United States it is denied that there is such a thing as national citizenship. To-night I address you, fellow citizens of Chicago, in a broad sense, as fellow citizens of the United States of America. * * * We have a matter under consideration to-night vastly more important than all the financial questions that can be presented to you, and that is: Are you or are you not a Nation? We had supposed for generations that we were a Nation. In 1857 treason raised its head upon the floors of Congress. They said "Do this, or we will destroy your Government. Fail to do that, and we will destroy your Government." One of them repeated this threat to old Ben Wade, and he straightened himself up and said, "Don't delay it on my account."

When Abraham Lincoln took the oath of office there was nothing to protect the national life. Yet with all these discouragements staring us in the face, the Republican Party undertook to save your Government. We revived your credit; we created navies, raised armies, fought battles, carried the war to a successful issue, and, finally, when the rebellion surrendered at Appomattox, they surrendered to a Government. They admitted that they had submitted their heresy to the arbitrament of arms, and they surrendered to the Government of the United States of America. * * *

They had forfeited all their property; we gave it back to them. We found them naked and we clothed them. They were without the rights of citizenship and we restored to them those rights. We took them to our arms as brethren, believing that they had repented of their sins. * * *

The Republican Party is the only party that ever existed that has not one solitary unfulfilled pledge left. I defy its worst enemies to name a single pledge it ever gave to the people who created it which is not to-day a fulfilled and established fact. If we should die to-day or to-morrow, our children's children to the twentieth generation would boast that their ancestors belonged to the old Republican Party that saved the Nation and wiped slavery from its escutcheon. * * *

Take the smallest ship that floats, mark her "U. S. A.," raise to her peak the Stars and Stripes, the flag of this glorious Union, and start her around the world, and there is not a fort or ship of war of any nation on God's footstool that would not receive her with a national salute. We took your Government when despised and raised it to this high position among the nations of the earth. And yet we are told that we ought to die. I tell you that the mission of the Republican Party is not ended; furthermore, that it has just begun; and, furthermore, that it will never end until you and I, Mr. Chairman, can start from the Canadian border and travel to the Gulf of Mexico, making black Republican speeches wherever we please and vote a black Republican ticket wherever we gain a residence, and do it with exactly the same safety that a rebel can travel throughout the North, stopping wherever he has a mind to, and running for judge in any city.

An ex-Confederate officer was a candidate for a city judgeship at the election to be held in Chicago on the following Tuesday, and the newspaper report of the speech states that this local reference was received with such applause and laughter that it was three or four minutes before Mr. CHANDLER could proceed. He spoke for more than an hour, and then went to his hotel. The next morning he was dead.

Mr. Speaker, Michigan Republicans idolize the memory of ZACHARIAH CHANDLER. They love to think that he and men like him founded the Republican Party. They glory in his dying words: If we die to-day or to-morrow, our children's children to the twentieth generation will boast that their ancestors belonged to the party that saved the Nation and wiped slavery from its escutcheon.

And let those whom it may concern give heed to his other words: Take the smallest ship that floats, mark her "U. S. A.," raise to her peak the Stars and Stripes, and let

not a nation on God's footstool dare refuse to receive her with a national salute.

CHANDLER stood for the protection of Americans, not only at home but on the farthest shore of the most savage country where government is the least. He believed the United States should always and everywhere be the bravest, the foremost, and the best. In the Senate with him were Blaine and Conkling and Edmunds, and a galaxy of names that will shine forever like the blazing stars of a Michigan winter night; and he was in the very foremost rank. His star will never set.

The history of my State is replete with illustrious names. Where in the traditions of any forest race was there ever a more admirable barbarian than Pontiac, whose home was long on the beautiful island opposite Detroit? Where in the history of armed conflict is there a more gallant name than that of Custer? Where in the annals of the law have there been more just or learned judges than Cooley and Campbell and Christiancy? Any one of these, or a score of others, might have graced yonder Hall, and any son of Michigan would have pointed to the statue with pride. But this selection has been wisely made. We love the memory of CHANDLER, a citizen of the whole United States, and we intrust his enduring marble to a nation's perpetual care. [Applause.]

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair will recognize the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. J. M. C. Smith].

ADDRESS OF HON. J. M. C. SMITH

The stars shall fade away, the sun himself
Grow dim with age, and Nature sink in years;
But thou shalt flourish in immortal youth,
Unhurt amidst the war of elements,
The wrecks of matter, and the crush of worlds.

Mr. Speaker, I am in complete accord with the spirit and sentiment that prompted the good people of the State of Michigan to have constructed a life-sized marble statue of ZACHARIAH CHANDLER and give it a permanent resting place in the Capitol of the Nation. The States do well to thus give public recognition to the worth and services of their great men; and there can be no more fitting monument to honor the memory of our illustrious deceased citizen, ZACHARIAH CHANDLER, than the marble statue so dedicated and placed in the Capitol of his country.

Mr. Speaker, I fully realize that no words of mine can add to the fame or name of CHANDLER. His life work and character far exceed any eulogy which I can hope to pronounce on this distinguished and eminent former citizen of the State of Michigan, whose memory we this day commemorate. He was illustrious in life, and his deeds are so interwoven with the progress and material welfare of our State and Nation that to recall the one is but to relate the other. He lived at a time when the foundation of our Republic was shaken by internal strife and war; but he also lived to see the shrine of freedom restored and the bond of unity established between the States which never shall be broken while brother shall greet brother. In the work of preserving and restoring the Union he stood in the front rank and never faltered, fully believing that—

He who fights for his country fights for all things and all things living bless him.

No man was better known in Michigan than Mr. CHANDLER in his lifetime. He was prominent in public and private life. He was an upright, honorable citizen and a constructive statesman. He lived at a time when our country needed strong men. He was of commanding presence, strong, firm, and resolute. He was, above all, extremely patriotic, and his whole soul was blended with the upbuilding and prosperity of his country. He chose Michigan for his home and was a central figure in its material development. Were he living to-day, he would be much pleased with its great progress.

In exalting the deeds of our departed friends we often overlook the transactions that go to make up the details of their everyday life and give prominence only to those which connect themselves with greater events.

ZACHARIAH CHANDLER was born in the city of Bedford, N. H., December 10, 1813. His ancestry was of that list of New England's earliest and best citizens which aided so much in preparing the way for the form of government which we enjoy to-day. His father's family lived on a part of a grant of land made by the General Court of Massachusetts to the soldiers who served in the Narragansett War. In early life he worked upon his father's farm. His education was completed in the little red brick school-house in Bedford and neighboring academies of Pembroke and Derry. In 1833, at the age of 20 years, with that great foresight and great judgment exercised by him in after life, he became a resident of Detroit, Mich., where he lived until the time of his sudden demise in the city of Chicago on the evening of November 1, 1879, at the age of 66 years.

When he first came to Michigan it was a Territory of 250,000 inhabitants; now it has a population of more than 3,000,000. Detroit at the time of his arrival had a population of 2,500; now it is a city of 600,000. At that time Michigan was a wilderness, but had played a prominent part in the early life of the Nation. It was the home of the

earliest settlers of the great Northwest who suffered from innumerable raids and conflicts. It was the scene of conflict between great European nations. Historians tell us that in 1781 the Spanish standard was hoisted at Fort St. Joseph near the present site of Niles, and the flags of France and England alternated. The sturdy pioneers passing through the Great Lakes, stretching like vast seas along the State border, found the forest swarming with wild life and the waters teeming with fish of choicest kind. The land was clothed with magnificent verdure. Indian trails and beaten paths interlocked the forest, and large tracts of open space were covered with flowers of variegated hue. The timid deer, the sluggish bruin, and plumed fowl found ready and safe retreat among the tall bushes and flowers. The wild pigeon filled the air like clouds above the trees. With the coming of the white settlers the Indians abandoned their hunting grounds, but not without much resistance and encounters which filled the early history of our State with constant conflict.

Slowly at first, and little by little, the savage customs of the red man yielded to the onward progress of ennobling civilization, until to-day Michigan, the adopted home of CHANDLER, has taken an advanced position among the great States of our Republic and is surpassed by none, with its boundary of peaceful and safe harbors, rapid streams, fine soil, great agriculture, delicious fruit, healthful climate, varied industries, and diverse products; abounding in timber, iron, copper, coal, lime and quarries, salt, gypsum, and marl; only second in its sugar industry; known the world over for its fine type of rich and ornamental furniture; excelling in fruit, potatoes, and beans; luxuriant in wheat, corn, hay, barley, rye, oats, flax; and unexcelled by any State in diversified farming. Live stock is a potent industry.

Michigan to-day builds nearly one-half of the automobiles and vehicles of the country, and manufactures woolen cloth, silk, and paper extensively. Its health-giving resorts

are being patronized by the people of the continent. The fame of its great university and agricultural college is world-wide, and its many colleges and institutions of learning are accessible to all. Nature has well fitted it for commerce and trade, and its vast water powers and network of railways give cheap transportation for the distribution of its mineral, agricultural, and manufactured products.

Michigan is proud of its great benevolent, charitable, and public institutions, its fine churches, its splendid hospitals, sanitariums, and industrial schools, and homes for all classes of aged or infirm. A dignified, prosperous, and progressive people are placing Michigan in the front ranks of the great galaxy of States.

Here are magnificent opportunities to all. Manufacturing industries are mingled with prolific farming; both abound with opportunity and reward. And could he whose memory we revere momentarily return he would find us to-day all coworkers, relying the one upon the other, but without class or distinction to an extent never before known, the successors and the beneficiaries of his life work and endeavor.

On the night of his death he had spoken at a large political gathering. Before retiring he was met by the beckoning angel of death and the world was closed to his vision forever. And it was stated:

Death passed into the chamber of the sleeper,
The dark and silent room,
And as he entered darker grew and deeper
The silence and the gloom.

His sudden death was lamented by State and Nation. He spent many years in public life. He had been mayor of Detroit. In 1852 he was defeated on the Whig ticket for governor of his State. He was a stanch Republican, and in 1854 stumped the State and was active in the formation of the Republican Party. He served 22 years in the Senate of the United States and was recognized everywhere as a man of great power and influence. It is stated that he was much disliked by his enemies but adored by his friends. He

was a strong partisan and party man. He belonged to those—

Men who their duties know,
But know their rights, and, knowing, dare maintain.

He had the confidence of Lincoln and vigorously supported him in the conduct of the war. He took a leading part in the reconstruction of the States. He was defeated for the Senate by Judge Christiancy in 1875. He was appointed Secretary of the Interior by President Grant and served with distinction during the two terms of his incumbency. As a political leader and a forceful and convincing speaker he was in the front rank, especially among the people of his State, where he was always in great demand.

It is not complete justice to say of CHANDLER that he acquired distinction only in public life. He was a successful business man and blended himself freely with the commercial life of his city. His activities in public life were associated with the dry-goods trade. It was related of him that he was retiring and devoted to his business, and when he began for himself he lived on \$300 a year and slept in his store. He was a member of the Presbyterian Church, and elsewhere scarcely spent an hour of his time except to facilitate his trade. He won friends by his personal kindness and strict integrity in business. His prosperity and success in private enterprises gave him opportunities for which he was well qualified to enter upon a public career. In the Senate and before the people he always stood firmly for the integrity and honor of his country and for the rights of the humblest citizen. His honesty in public and private life was never assailed. He always kept his word and fulfilled his pledges. As Secretary of the Interior he introduced many commendable reforms and showed great executive ability.

And so we prize and praise the memory of this distinguished citizen. He performed well his part to give to his State a high place of honor and glory in the Republic. As a tribute to his splendid service to his State and Nation, a statue of marble attesting at once the great skill and perfect

workmanship of the artist has been erected to his memory, so that for all time we can look upon him as he was; for in the execution of his work the sculptor blended the soul and countenance of his subject, and it is said that only breath is wanting to hear him speak.

In the Hall of Fame with other honored and illustrious dead of our great Republic, side by side with Lewis Cass, whom he succeeded, and surrounded by Hannibal Hamlin, Charles Sumner, Benjamin Franklin, and others who were his compatriots and colleagues in the Senate, his likeness stands in the Hall of Fame in the Capitol of his country, so beloved by him, and where he spent the best years of his sterling manhood. There in lifelike form he stands to speak silently of the glories of our grand Republic and to encourage that patriotism and loyalty which he always so fully vindicated and which we may emulate. He died with the love of country on his lips, offering a prayer for its future welfare. Like him, may all who follow be faithful mariners and safe pilots of our country through every storm, watchfully, devotedly, and prayerfully.

Thou, too, sail on, O ship of state!
Sail on, O Union, strong and great!
Humanity with all its fears,
With all the hopes of future years,
Is hanging breathless on thy fate!
We know what master laid thy keel,
What workmen wrought thy ribs of steel,
Who made each mast, and sail, and rope,
What anvils rang, what hammers beat,
In what a forge and what a heat
Were shaped the anchors of thy hope!
Fear not each sudden sound and shock,
'Tis of the wave and not the rock,
'Tis but the flapping of the sail,
And not a rent made by the gale.
In spite of rock and tempest roar,
In spite of false lights on the shore,
Sail on, nor fear to breast the sea.
Our hearts, our hopes, are all with thee,
Our hearts, our hopes, our prayers, our tears,
Our faith triumphant o'er our fears,
Are all with thee—are all with thee.

[Applause.]

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. Burke of South Dakota). The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Cramton].

ADDRESS OF HON. LOUIS C. CRAMTON

Mr. Speaker, the name of CHANDLER lives not because of his great political sagacity or his wonderful executive ability or his strong and vigorous mental powers, although he was gifted with all of these. His name is still a living force a generation after his death by reason of his unswerving loyalty to his convictions of right and truth and to his country's cause. Personal sacrifice or danger or fear of defeat never served to withhold him from the performance of his fullest public duty.

The State of Michigan has performed a great public service when she has placed here in the Capitol of this Nation, where the citizens from every section may come to look upon his visage, the statue of ZACHARIAH CHANDLER. In this day, when a real democracy is constantly becoming more and more a reality, and when the responsibility upon the individual citizen is every day becoming more and more direct, it is well that here, before the citizens of our Nation, should be placed this statue of one who was chiefly distinguished by his courage in his convictions and by his loyalty to his country and its institutions.

Progress is not a matter which takes care of itself. In the remarks to-day of my distinguished colleagues there has been frequent and eloquent reference to the wonderful progress of this country in the recent century. But let me remind you progress, industrially, politically, ethically, and in all lines, has only been possible because there have been at frequent stages in the journey of time men who have been willing to sacrifice self, who have been willing to face the greatest of problems with unflinching courage, without regard to what it might mean to self. The path of progress has always been lighted by beacon lights where self was burned by the individual as a sacrifice that the many might

benefit. In all our political history there has never been a man who has manifested in greater degree that willingness, who has been more characterized by such courage of conviction and loyalty to truth than was ZACHARIAH CHANDLER. [Applause.]

Modern development of methods of transportation and distribution of property, persons, and thought consequent upon the development of that great dynamic trinity—steam, electricity, gasoline—counts preeminent among its weapons the railroad, the telegraph, the telephone, the printing press, and a myriad of other triumphs of industrial progress. These have all tended to make possible a genuine government by the people. Even in a Nation of 100,000,000 souls, scattered over areas greater in extent than even the dreams of the Alexanders and Napoleons of old, we are now working out this problem of a direct government of the people by the people.

In the earlier days of this Nation, with its slow methods of intercommunication, the representatives of the people exercised the rights of rulers. To-day the individual citizen can be, and on the average is, better informed as to current political problems and public crises than was the governor of an outlying State in other days. Hence has followed much of our recent political development, placing the power more fully in the hands of the individual voter, making it possible for him to exercise his will more directly and more positively than before. In these days of the Australian ballot, of the direct nomination of candidates, of the initiative, of the referendum, and of the recall, the final authority of Government rests in the hands of the individual voter.

This fact is a grave responsibility as well as an opportunity. The final triumphant justification of this splendid experiment in popular government must depend upon the manner in which the individual citizen discharges this grave responsibility.

The average citizen will not be dishonest, unpatriotic, or intentionally lacking in the performance of his public duty; but if he fails to give study to the public questions which come before him for determination; and further, if he fails to vote his own judgment upon such questions with a view to the general good rather than his personal benefit; and further, if he fails, whatever may be his station of life, to defend and promote that which he believes to be right through fear of personal danger or cost, then will the wail of the reactionary be justified and the demonstrated failure of popular government be accomplished. If, on the other hand, the brave spirit of CHANDLER actuates the average citizen and he forms his judgment with impartiality, defends it with courage, clings to it without regard to personal consequences, promotes it to the utmost of his ability, and fears not the outcome, then this splendid experiment will be glorified by the complete demonstration of the righteousness of the dreams of the founders of our Republic—that true liberty and self-government and true progress must go hand in hand.

ADDRESS OF HON. WILLIAM J. MACDONALD

Mr. Speaker, in the half light of history the character and works of public men are often seen dimly and obscurely; and the great men of all times stand out only by reason of having impressed themselves upon their contemporaries by strong, dominant characteristics that served strikingly to differentiate them from their fellows, and to leave a mark thereby that tradition carries down to succeeding generations.

IN ZACHARIAH CHANDLER Michigan contributed to the Nation a figure of towering strength. At a time in the history of the Nation when issues were at stake that truly tried men's souls he was found not only unvaryingly to have the courage of his convictions, but the power and strength to dominate his fellows by the very force and passion by which these convictions imbued him. He never stopped to consider what public opinion might be in shaping his course, nor was he ever deterred by any fear of consequences upon his personal fortunes. Webster says that when aroused he put forth his opinion and convictions "like the out-breaking of a fountain from the earth or the bursting forth of volcanic fires with spontaneous, original native force."

I think there is no higher tribute that can be paid on this occasion, when we are about to commemorate the placing of his figure in the Nation's Hall of Fame, than to say that it keeps in remembrance one who was a man. [Applause.]

ADDRESS OF HON. SAMUEL W. SMITH

Mr. Speaker, we are assembled here to-day to perform the final act, representing the legislature and the people of the State of Michigan, of transferring to the care of the Nation, to be permanently placed in the National Hall of Fame, this effigy in marble of one of its most eminent public men, the Hon. ZACHARIAH CHANDLER.

In this place, alongside of its companion statue, that of Gen. Lewis Cass, the first donation from our Commonwealth to be presented to the Nation, but the first only in point of time and service, we ardently hope to thus preserve the names and fame of the two distinguished men who so long honored the State whose commission they bore. As long as this grand Capitol stands their memory will endure.

The name of Lewis Cass has been a familiar one to me from my early childhood. My father was a great admirer and staunch supporter of Gen. Cass. A large portrait of the general adorned the front of the old clock in the home of my parents for many years.

It is a fact worthy of notice that for 60 years the political opinions of Michigan as a Territory and State were represented and largely formed by two men of New Hampshire birth.

From 1819 to 1854 Gen. Cass was the accepted political leader of Michigan, and only once in all that long period of 35 years did her people fail to follow him. That was in 1840, when the old pioneers and the soldiers of 1812—generally the friends of Cass—refused his leadership and voted for the older pioneer and the more illustrious chieftain, William Henry Harrison. From 1854 till Mr. CHANDLER's death the dominant opinion of Michigan was with him; and her people followed him, trusted him, believed in him. During that quarter of a century the population of the State more than trebled in number, but the strength of CHANDLER with the newcomers seemed as great as with the older population

with whom he had begun the struggle of life in the Territory of Michigan. The old men stood firmly by him in the faith and confidence of an ancient friendship, and the young men followed with an enthusiasm which grew into affection and with an affection which ripened into reverence.

ZACHARIAH CHANDLER was a remarkable man, a great leader of men, and possessed of a strong character, in both his private and public life. He was a great American. He was far more than an ordinary, everyday politician. His public services covered a period a little short of 23 years, but they were rendered in an era of the greatest stress in the life of the Republic.

He entered the Senate on March 4, 1857, and, with the exception of a few weeks in private life in 1875, he remained continuously in the service of his State and the Nation until his death, on November 1, 1879. Soon after his retirement from the Senate he became Secretary of the Interior in President Grant's second administration, and it is a matter of history that the multifarious affairs of that great department were never more efficiently or honestly administered than during the incumbency of Secretary CHANDLER. Thoroughly honest himself, he was the relentless foe of all jobbers and corruptionists, and he stood like a lion in the path of all schemers in their attempts to swindle the Government.

ZACHARIAH CHANDLER was born at Bedford, N. H., December 10, 1813, and died at Chicago, Ill., November 1, 1879, 40 days short of 66 years of age. He was of mixed English and Scotch-Irish ancestry, received an academic education, and early in life engaged in mercantile pursuits. When 20 years of age he removed to Michigan, settling at Detroit, where for a year or two he clerked in a store. Tradition has it that when CHANDLER, still a minor, decided to join the current of western immigration his father offered him \$1,000 or a collegiate education. He chose the money and settled in Detroit, becoming a merchant with his brother-in-law, Franklin Moore, under the firm name of

Moore & Chandler. This business was prosperous from the beginning, and by the middle forties Mr. CHANDLER was at the head of the largest wholesale dry-goods establishment in the State.

Merchants in the young and rapidly growing cities and villages within a wide area became his regular customers instead of going farther east for their supplies, and his liberal and courteous treatment of these dealers made them fast friends when, later on, he entered State and National politics.

In the late forties he served the city of Detroit as an alderman, and in 1851 was elected mayor as a Whig. He had an early and active share in the organization of the Republican Party, and was present at the mass convention "under the oaks" at Jackson in the summer of 1854, when the new party had its birth. He was the Whig candidate for governor of Michigan in 1852, but was defeated.

In the spring of 1854 the United States and the Earl of Elgin, then Governor General of Canada, acting for Great Britain, negotiated a reciprocity treaty between the United States and Canada. This treaty included nearly all natural products, and the list of articles to be admitted free was identical for both countries. The arrangement went into effect July 1, 1854, and continued until December 31, 1866, when it was abrogated by the United States. During its entire existence Mr. CHANDLER was intensely and consistently hostile to this treaty, claiming that Great Britain and her Canadian possessions had gotten altogether the best of the bargain, and he rarely let pass an opportunity to bitterly assail and denounce it.

Never in the broad sense of the term an orator, he was an earnest and forceful speaker, and his homely phraseology and apt illustrations often brought conviction to the minds of many of his hearers who were ordinarily opposed to his economic views. Long before his first election to the Senate he had acquired quite an international reputation for his intense Americanism, and was generally recognized as the chief of the "twisters of the British lion's tail."

The year 1857 was a bad one for the United States. Commercial and industrial depression was widespread. The "hard times" began to appear soon after the close of the presidential campaign of the previous fall. In that hotly contested political struggle the newly organized Republican Party made its first appeal to the American electorate and henceforth became a vital political quantity.

Mr. CHANDLER gave liberally of his time and means in support of the principles of the infant party. He stumped Michigan and other neighboring States, and his services were in constant demand as a campaign speaker. The battle ended in the election of the Democratic ticket, headed by James Buchanan.

During the hard winter of 1856-57 sound currency was exceedingly scarce in Michigan. There was plenty of the red-dog and wildcat variety in evidence, but only those who could not help themselves ever took it or circulated it. By this time Mr. CHANDLER's big dry-goods establishment was on such a firm basis that it was but slightly affected by the almost universal depression. He freely supplied his country customers with all the goods they required on long-time credits, and thus scores of rural merchants were saved from impending and certain bankruptcy. Years afterwards Mr. CHANDLER declared that he had not lost a dollar by this accommodation, but he had made fast friends and supporters of many when, a little later, he aspired to political honors.

In the national election of 1856 the young Republican Party swept Michigan and elected large majorities in both houses of the State legislature. When the time came for choosing a Senator in succession to Gen. Cass, whose term was about to expire, but who subsequently became Secretary of State in President Buchanan's Cabinet, a majority of the Republican members supported the candidacy of Mr. Isaac P. Christiancy, a successful and prominent lawyer of Monroe. A large and active minority, however, doggedly

opposed Mr. Christiancy, and this minority succeeded in effecting a combination with the Democrats by which a sufficient number of votes of the latter were secured to make Mr. CHANDLER's election a certainty. Mr. CHANDLER's business friends, many of whom were country merchants, affiliated with both political parties, had taken this means of proving their loyalty and gratitude, and thus was brought about the first election of ZACHARIAH CHANDLER to the Senate of the United States, in which position he remained for 18 years, until he was defeated by a combination not unlike the one by which he had first succeeded in favor of Mr. Christiancy, his early opponent, and who the same year—1857—was nominated and elected a member of the State Supreme Court, that great tribunal with its three famous "C's"—Campbell, Christiancy, and Cooley—whose fame and ability as jurists were and still are of world-wide recognition.

Senator CHANDLER took his seat in the Senate March 4, 1857, with the advent of the Buchanan administration. From that moment his was a commanding personality, both physically and intellectually, in all national affairs. He now belonged to the entire Nation. His first assignments were to the Committee on the District of Columbia and the Committee on Commerce. Early in his first term he succeeded to the chairmanship of the latter powerful and influential committee, so important to the interests of Michigan, with its vast expanse of navigable water front, the largest in mileage of any State in the Union. This commanding post was retained by Mr. CHANDLER until his senatorial career was broken in 1875. The pages of the *Congressional Globe* and its successor, the *Congressional Record*, bear testimony to the valuable work accomplished by the Committee on Commerce during the years of Senator CHANDLER's leadership.

Senator CHANDLER was hardly warm in his seat when he began an active onslaught on his pet aversion, the Canadian reciprocity treaty. He hammered away on this line in season and out of season for nearly 10 years, when, as has

been already mentioned, the treaty was abrogated. He was never popular with the press of Great Britain or Canada.

When early in 1861 eleven of the Southern States seceded, and the Civil War was near at hand, Mr. CHANDLER became a vigorous supporter of the cause of the Union, which position he maintained throughout the four years of sanguinary strife. There was no uncertainty about his attitude. At all times he had the courage of his convictions. And his speeches reveal the intensity of his innermost thoughts and feelings.

In February, 1861, Senator CHANDLER wrote his famous "blood letter" to Gov. Austin Blair, who was afterwards known as the "War Governor of Michigan." In that letter the Senator declared "Without a little bloodletting this Union will not, in my estimation, be worth a rush." In some way this letter was made public and for a time it caused a great sensation. The writer was savagely assailed by a considerable section of the press of the country and by not a few of the politicians of his own party. The Senator stood firm, however, and let his adversaries harp and howl until they were tired. His only known utterance on the subject is:

In that letter I wrote my honest belief at the time, and I have no further explanation or apology to make.

It is now a matter of history that before the four years of most sanguinary warfare of modern times were ended "a little bloodletting" actually occurred—but the Union was saved.

Throughout the war the Senator's services on the Committee on the Conduct of the War were invaluable. Probably no other member of that committee gave so much of his time and energy to the great work performed by it, and this labor was not ended until long after the close of hostilities.

Soon after Gen. Grant became commander of all the Federal Armies a deep attachment grew up between the

great soldier and the great Senator, notwithstanding the fact that they had a somewhat serious personal difficulty, which was more amusing than otherwise to nonparticipants, while the Senator was mayor of Detroit and Grant a young lieutenant of the Regular Army, stationed at Fort Wayne, near Detroit. This attachment remained unbroken until the Senator's death, which preceded the General's by nearly seven years.

As a party man Senator CHANDLER was a stalwart, and he vigorously supported all the war measures of his party including the impeachment of Andrew Johnson and the reconstruction acts which followed.

Senator CHANDLER was elected for a second term in 1863 and to a third in 1869, with practically no opposition in his party and with very little from the Democrats.

He had now held the Senatorship longer than any of his distinguished predecessors. Toward the middle of his term, however, murmurs of discontent began to be heard against Mr. CHANDLER's long tenure of office, and the dissatisfaction found ready and willing disseminators among that section of the press and people who opposed the election of Gen. Grant to a second term in the Presidency in 1872. "Chandlerism" became a term of reproach just as other "isms," with the names of other prominent party leaders prefixed, have become more or less unpopular in these latter days.

The most violent opposition to the Senator's desire for a fourth term came from a small, but noisy, faction in the party who in 1872 had broken away from their bearings and styled themselves "Liberal Republicans." In the national field the movement was a dismal failure; but, aided by a few able papers, whose editors and owners had conceived a violent antipathy to Senator CHANDLER, the sentiment against "Chandlerism" was making headway.

In 1874, for the first time since the Civil War, the Democratic Party elected a good working majority in the House of Representatives, and this change in public sentiment also

resulted in a considerable increase in the representation of that party in the Michigan Legislature.

The campaign against "Chandlerism" was soon on in a most virulent form. Just what was meant by "Chandlerism" was never very clearly defined. In the popular mind at the time it meant "loyalty of the Senator to his friends and their loyalty to him." But he had held one of the greatest offices in the gift of the people for a long time—for 18 years—in which were included four years of the greatest war in modern history, during which the Republic had to fight desperately to maintain its existence—and there were a number of eager and patriotic gentlemen, from their own viewpoint, eager and anxious to supplant him.

No charges of personal or political corruption had ever been successfully laid at his door. All his public acts were well known and open and aboveboard. Both his friends and his enemies always knew exactly how he stood on the vital issues of the day. He had never trimmed a sail to catch the passing breeze, and he cared very little for personal popularity or the applause of the multitude.

When the time came for the nomination of a Senator at the session of 1873, a small number of Republican members refused to enter the caucus.

MR. CHANDLER, however, was regularly nominated. Much maneuvering and scheming followed this action, and many combinations were suggested and some of them given a trial. The combination that eventually succeeded was the offer of the recalcitrant Republicans to put forward Judge Christianity, of the supreme bench, the same man who was defeated by SENATOR CHANDLER 18 years before, as their candidate and for whom they solicited the solid Democratic vote. After a few days of dickering the compact was agreed to, and Judge Christianity was elected Senator by a bare majority vote. "OLD ZACH," as he was then popularly called, after long, arduous, and faithful service, was thus retired to private life. But the retirement was only for a little while.

When the news of CHANDLER'S defeat was received at a well-known Democratic resort near the city hall in Detroit there was great jubilation, as might be expected, over the "victory." When the enthusiasm and the felicitations were at their height, one old Democrat, who had taken an active and conspicuous part in CHANDLER'S first election, put a damper on the proceedings by a little impromptu speech. "Of course," said he, "it is all right that we, as good party men, should rejoice over CHANDLER'S defeat. But there is another way to look at the matter. What does Michigan gain by the change? We have simply traded the chairmanship of the great Senate Committee on Commerce, with our large water front and numerous ports, and large and rapidly growing marine interests, for, possibly, the tail end of the Judiciary Committee. To my mind, this 'victory' seems more like a State calamity." Having thus relieved his mind, the old Democrat stalked gloomily out of the room, and the felicitations were at an end.

Mr. CHANDLER was idle only a few weeks. President Grant invited him to join his Cabinet as Secretary of the Interior, and he accepted.

The next year the memorable Hayes-Tilden campaign of 1876 came on, and Mr. CHANDLER was chosen chairman of the Republican national committee, with his namesake and distant relative, William E. Chandler, of New Hampshire, as secretary.

It would be out of place here, besides being entirely unnecessary, to enter into the details of that now historic political struggle. One incident of the battle must suffice. The morning after election, when the result of the balloting as regards a number of States was very much in doubt, the country was electrified by a dispatch from Republican headquarters in New York, and which was published in the daily papers all over the country, which read: "Hayes has 185 votes and is elected." This was signed "Chandler." For a good while the authorship of this laconic dispatch was

credited to "OLD ZACH," who neither affirmed nor denied at the time. Later investigation, however, seems to fix the responsibility on the secretary of the committee, William E. Chandler, who subsequently became Secretary of the Navy in President Arthur's Cabinet, besides serving two terms as Senator from his native State, and who is still living in Washington.

Judge Christiancy during his brief service never seemed entirely at home in the Senate. The judicial habit had become so strong with him that he acted as if he felt out of place. Besides, he had numerous troubles of a domestic nature which caused him great uneasiness. When, therefore, after a little less than two years' service, President Hayes offered him the post of minister to Peru, he gladly accepted, and resigned the Senatorship. As was predicted, he had drawn the tail end of the Judiciary Committee and some other minor assignments. The Legislature of Michigan—the one elected in the great campaign of 1876—promptly elected Mr. CHANDLER to fill the vacancy, and "OLD ZACH" was again in the saddle.

But he was not destined to enjoy his new honors long. The same senatorial term of six years, for which he was first defeated and afterwards triumphantly elected, was also fated to see the end of his earthly career.

During the short session of 1879 he filled his old seat in the Senate and appeared to be in fine form. He delivered a few speeches and made friends with many of the men who had entered the Senate during his absence.

In the last months of his life Senator CHANDLER ardently believed that he would be the Republican candidate for the Presidency in 1880.

Only a few weeks before his death he discussed the conditions then prevailing in his party with an old friend, and gave his reasons for the belief that he would prove an acceptable dark-horse candidate, one on whom the warring

factions could unite. The friend agreed that his reasoning and conclusions were sound.

Late in October, 1879, he visited Chicago to attend to some business and delivered his last memorable speech, prior to the meeting of Congress in December. He had completed his business and expected to return to his home in Detroit next day. On the morning of November 1 he was found dead in his bed in a hotel, having died some time during the night from heart failure, brought on by an attack of acute indigestion, from which affliction he suffered at times.

His body lay in state in the city hall in Detroit, and thousands of his neighbors and his friends joined the long line to take a last look at his honest and rugged face.

I did not enjoy the personal acquaintance of Mr. CHANDLER but I liked him, believed in him and the principles for which he stood, and never lost an opportunity to hear him speak. When the sudden and unexpected news of his death came, I, with thousands of others, was shocked and made sad, for the Nation had lost a great man, and the Republican Party one of its strongest and foremost leaders.

Such, in brief, is a most inadequate sketch of the career of ZACHARIAH CHANDLER, whom we are assembled here to-day to commemorate, and whose statue we now consign to the keeping of the Government which he loved so well, and which we earnestly pray may endure for all time. [Applause.]

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. FORDNEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all gentlemen who have spoken or those who may wish to speak on this subject may have the privilege of extending their remarks in the Record.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Fordney] asks unanimous consent that all those who have spoken or who may wish to speak on this sub-

ject may have permission to extend their remarks in the Record. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

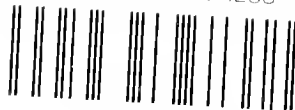
ADJOURNMENT

Mr. SAMUEL W. SMITH. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 1 o'clock and 40 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned until Monday, April 20, 1914, at 12 o'clock noon.



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